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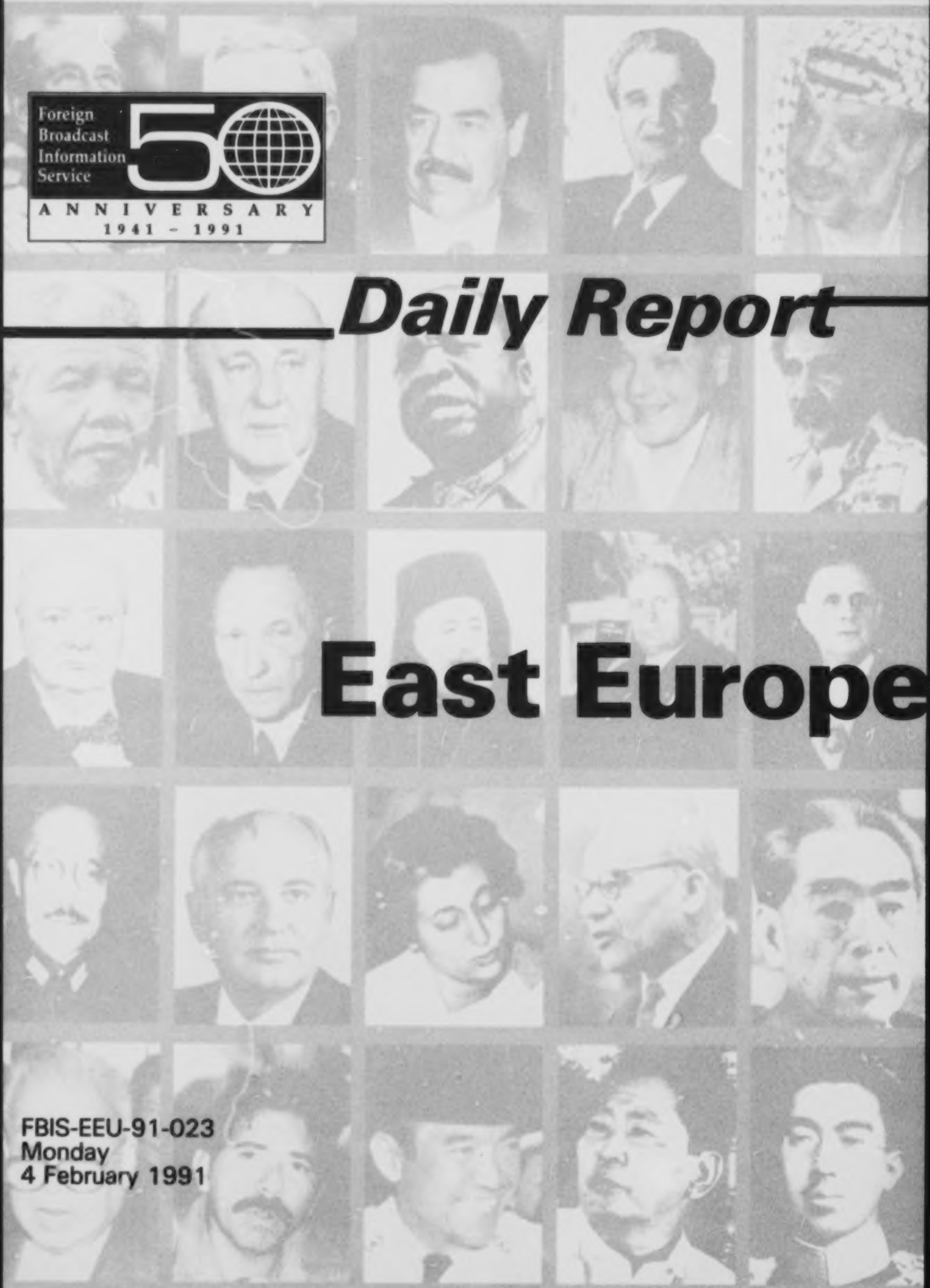

FBIS-EEU-91-023
Monday
4 February 1991

Daily Report
East Europe

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Diplomatic Ties To Be Reestablished With U.S.

AU0102220091 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Our ATA correspondent learned today from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania that U.S.-Albanian talks about the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries are in the process of completion. The basic text of the agreement was concluded in August last year, and only final official approval by the U.S. Administration is awaited. In recent days, U.S. State Department advisers made contact with Albanian diplomats in New York to finalize some details. It now only remains for the two sides to decide together the date and place where the agreement will be signed.

Romanian Foreign Ministry Official Pays Visit

AU3101145691 Tirana ATA in English 0901 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] Tirana, January 31 (ATA)—The secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, the government's member Romulus Neagu, arrived in our country on an official and friendly visit on January 30.

At the airport he was welcomed by the deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania, Sokrat Plaka, and other functionaries of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Present were also the ambassador of Albania in Bucharest, Piro Vito, as well as the ambassador of Romania in Tirana, Gheorghe Micu.

'Official' Talks Held

AU0102140191 Tirana ATA in English 0903 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 1 (ATA)—Official talks were conducted at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs between the delegation of the Foreign Ministry of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, headed by the deputy minister, Sokrat Plaka, and the delegation of the Foreign Ministry of Romania headed by the secretary of state, Romulus Neagu.

During the talks both parties pointed out that the meeting of the presidents of the two countries in UNO [United Nations Organization] last year, has opened up new perspectives for the further development of the relations in the political, economic, cultural, technical-scientific and other fields of mutual interest. Likewise they noticed that on the basis of traditional friendship the bilateral cooperation is expanding and strengthening and the contacts are increasing.

The stress was laid on the possibilities existing for the broadening of the economic and trade cooperation and both delegations voiced their desire to increase the volume of goods' exchange.

The deputy ministers underlined the need to broaden and materialize the activities in the context of Balkan cooperation to accelerate the positive democratic processes in the region, in conformity with the intentions of their countries for the full integration into Europe.

Likewise they spoke on the processes for the further democratization of the pluralist societies in Albania and Romania, as well as on some problems of the international situation and CSCE, on the situation in the Balkans, in Europe, Mediterranean, the Adriatic initiative, the Black Sea initiative, the events in the Persian Gulf, etc.

Received by Malile

AU0102140391 Tirana ATA in English 0908 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 1 (ATA)—Albania's minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, received the secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, Romulus Neagu, on January 31.

During the reception, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, they pointed to the fresh achievements marked by the Albanian-Romanian relations and the possibilities existing so that cooperation in the economic, cultural, technical-scientific domains between the two countries be further extended.

The foreign minister, Reis Malile, and the secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, Romulus Neagu, spoke among others also on problems related to Balkan cooperation and the contribution of both countries to strengthen this cooperation to the benefit of peace and security in the region. It was pointed out that a tranquil, stable, and secure Balkans is a direct contribution not only to peace in the region, but also to cooperation and security in Europe and the Mediterranean.

They spoke also on the commitment and contribution of both countries in the CSCE process as well as on the dangerous course of the events in the Gulf area.

Meets With Farudin Hoxha, Korbeci

AU0102213891 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Romulus Neagu, secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, was received today at separate meetings by Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidium of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Foreign Economic Cooperation, and by Foreign Trade Minister Shane Korbeci.

During these meetings, views were exchanged and readiness was expressed by both sides to expand cooperation in economic and commercial fields.

Confers With Carcani

AU0302141991 Tirana ATA in English 0918 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Tirana, February 3 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers, Adil Carcani, received at the seat of the Council of Ministers the secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, Romulus Neagu, on February 2 and had a friendly talk with him.

During the meeting, the Prime Minister Adil Carcani spoke to the Romanian guest on the traditional friendship that has linked the Albanian people with the Romanian one. On this basis the relations and cooperation between the two countries have been intensified and greater perspectives will open up in the future. The meeting of the presidents of the two countries in New York last year during the UNO's [United Nations Organization] session, he said, gave a fresh impulse to the relations between the two countries.

Comrade Adil Carcani pointed out among others that possibilities exist for a broader and more fruitful cooperation, especially in the economic, trade and technical-scientific field. The development of the Albanian-Romanian relations is in the interest of both countries and serve at the same time the consolidation of peace and security in the Balkans and Europe.

The Prime Minister Adil Carcani acquainted the secretary of state of Romania on the present internal situation in our country and the fresh important developments in Albania regarding the democratization of the country's life in all fields, in the framework of the pluralist system established in Albania. He also spoke of the profound economic reform and the mechanism of the market economy, as well as of the measures adopted recently to overcome the difficulties, of the cooperation with the foreign firms, the improvement of legislation, the creation of the juridical state and of a number of other measures regarding the and civil human rights and freedoms.

Besides, Comrade Adil Carcani spoke of the foreign policy of Albania and the role and contribution it makes to the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding as well as its active participation in the context of the CSCE activities. Our country, he said, is conducting a broad activity in regard to the further democratization of the international relations and the consolidation of the concept of all-European security.

On his part, the Romanian secretary of state, Romulus Neagu thanked for the warm reception and pointed out the desire of the Romanian party to further develop the relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, relations of mutual interest especially in the field of economy. He conveyed to Comrade Adil Carcani the greetings of the premier of Romania, Petre Roman.

Over the talks, Romulus Neagu evaluated the process of democratization of the life in our country and informed of the inner developments in Romania and its foreign policy toward the consolidation of the Balkan cooperation and the integration in the positive European processes.

Comrade Adil Carcani asked the secretary of state of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania to convey to the Prime Minister Petre Roman the best greetings and wishes.

Attending the reception were also the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Sokrat Plaka; the ambassador of Albania in Bucharest, Piro Vito, as well as the ambassador of Romania in Tirana, Gheorghe Micu.

On the same day, the secretary of state of the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Romania, Romulus Neagu left Albania.

Results of Nation's 'Human Hemorrhage' Viewed

AU0302194391 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 16 Jan 91 p 4

[Teodor Keko article: "Sad Tirana"]

[Text] Tirana is now a sad city. There is no need to conduct an opinion poll of citizens to reach this conclusion. It is enough to watch a soccer match on the television screen. The terraces of the national stadium are empty. It is enough to look at the windows of bookstores in the center of the capital. Very good books are not selling. It is enough to pass by, holding your nose, the piles of garbage that no one removes, or to fall on a rainy day in the water-filled potholes that nobody repairs, or to come across drunken young men everywhere at all hours of the day.

Sadness is the leitmotiv of this city. Few people work as they did before. Many others wander around clubs or in front of the Albtransport travel agency, wait for hours on end in front of foreign embassies and the best-known hotels in the capital, deal on the black market, or gamble.

What was expected has happened. The country's capital, its heart, after the terrible and spine-chilling hemorrhage of the escape of tens of thousands sons and daughters, newlyweds, and parents, is given over to sadness and loss. Thousands of families, desolate at such flights from the homeland in search of a dream, did not celebrate the New Year. Thousands of strong people, valuable producers, said miserably on this evening of celebration: Better if this new year had not come. Not even traditional family visits in the city were spared their tragic dimension: Aged, lonely people stood in silence for hours on end by their relatives' graves, telling those who had gone about the grief that has fallen on their heads. A terrible problem: Parents are unable to reply to the outbursts and attacks of their children. A devastating question: "Why did you fight and work, dear parents, to bring the country to such a state?!" There is no rewriting the commands of history. Anyone who does not take history into consideration lacks tolerance. Where is this city going, with its strong intellectual potential and its traditionally healthy family life? To exile and total desolation, toward a new Alaska! Toward catastrophe! The homeland counts for nothing any more. Tragically, poverty can overcome national feeling. Self-sacrifice, that lever of Archimedes which has kept Albania together so far, has suddenly evaporated. No young person today wants to sacrifice anything any more. The favorite patriotic song is the one with the refrain, "Because you have been in slavery long enough, poor Albania..." Oh my young soul! Young people want to leave the country by any shameful means: by crossing the border illegally, at risk to their lives, and claiming refugee status as soon as they are on the other side; by highly suspicious marriages, etc.... Until yesterday, foreigners were asked for leks and trinkets. Now everybody asks for addresses.... Honesty is shamed. It seems inevitable that this human hemorrhage must be stopped; however, there is unfortunately a second catastrophe. Our own mistakes follow those greatest mistakes caused by history. There is a lack of people whom young people trust; no one can mount a rostrum any longer and persuade them by arguments to look at the homeland again.

Tirana is growing sallow and pale from this hemorrhage. All the signs suggest even more escapes. A young lad who ran away to Austria two or three months ago is ready to send his family $500 to take them there. Five hundred dollars in two months! A minister in Albania is not paid so much in a year! That is enough to inspire young people to fly like Ben Johnson to the border, forgetting that they leave behind them pain, tears, and sadness. The homeland seems to have surrendered to sickness. It lies bedridden, weary and lonely, unable to summon its strength to stand up. It waits for help and life-saving medicines. We have long been frightened of this sickness. The paradox is that we now become lonelier than ever! The time has come to sound the alarm. We have hidden many things in these 46 years, including our sickness in this accursed winter.

PDSh Demonstrates For Malile's Resignation

AU0102142291 Tirana International Service in German 1330 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] On the afternoon of 31 January, the Democratic Party of Albania [PDSh] held a protest demonstration outside the Albanian Foreign Ministry. About 1,000 people took part. Banners and slogans protested the visits of Foreign Minister Reis Malile to Cuba and China. His resignation was also demanded. The demonstration took place peacefully.

PDSh Issues Call to Depoliticize Army, Police

AU0102213591 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] The Democratic Party [PDSh] held a news conference in one of the halls of the Tirana Palace of Culture today for Albanian and foreign journalists.

Gramoz Pashko, member of the Initiating Commission for this party's creation, who has recently returned from a visit to several European countries, spoke about his meetings with various party and state personalities in these countries and with Ismail Kadare in Paris.

Other members of this commission, replying to journalists' questions, talked about the organization of the PDSh and its activities so far and expressed their views about the draft constitution, etc. They also repeated their demand for the depoliticization of the Army, the police, and other state services.

PDSh's Pashko on Party's Plans, Other Issues

AU0102165591 Berlin DER MORGEN in German 31 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Party Chairman Gramoz Pashko by Janos Szabo in Budapest, date not given: "We Would Govern Much Better Than the Communists"; first paragraph is DER MORGEN introduction]

[Text] In the Albanian "Democratic Party," [PDSh] founded a few weeks ago, the opposition groups of the last communist state have joined in a political organization. Under its pressure, the elections planned for 10 February have been postponed until the end of March. Gramoz Pashko, the party's chairman, recently traveled abroad for the first time to make political contacts. France, Austria, Switzerland, and Hungary were on his itinerary. He gave DER MORGEN's Budapest correspondent the following interview:

[Szabo] How do you judge the situation in Albania?

[Pashko] Civil war threatens in Albania. The population is divided into two camps. The first would like to bring back the past. Those in the second favor the changes, but above all want to survive in the future. The slightest pretext could result in infernal consequences. After the first use of weapons, no one would be able to control events; therefore, we announced the policy of national conciliation, so we do not once again lose the hard-won democratic achievements.

[Szabo] How has the PDSh developed?

[Pashko] The history of our party is the history of Albania. Like all democratic institutions, the opposition was strongly suppressed for decades. The intelligentsia, previously only united in their work, came together after the changes in Eastern Europe. The party leaders come from their ranks, while the students represent the vanguard and offered their help immediately. At the moment, our party is hard to define. Its finer details have not yet been outlined. We share the same views about basic issues, but we will probably collapse into factions after the elections. The true struggle of political forces will only take place after the elections.

[Szabo] What is your view of the Albanian communist party [Albanian Worker's Party—PPSh]?

[Pashko] The PPSh leadership has changed its policies since Ceausescu's execution. As if it had suddenly forgotten its earlier behavior, it embarked on the road of reform. Despite its opening, however, a section of the population does not believe it. This means that the PPSh no longer worries about its principles, and is only concerned about how to save itself. Our land is now therefore, in practice, led by no one. Anarchy rules.

[Szabo] What are the PDSh's electoral prospects?

[Pashko] Presently, the communists' prospects are better than ours, because they have all the conditions for their campaign. This party will nevertheless collapse after the elections at the latest.

We are not politicians, but our party members nevertheless belong to the leading stratum of the intelligentsia and understand a great deal about economics, sociology, and history. We would, therefore, in all probability, be able to govern the country better than our predecessors. As a country between North and South, we can count on the necessary foreign support. Leading politicians have already promised their support.

Removal of Communist Street Slogans Demanded

AU0302205391 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 12 Jan 91 p 4

[B.M. article: "The Revanchism of Slogans"]

[Text] Normally, deep changes in the political life of a country, such as the establishment of political pluralism in our case, are first accompanied by a new decor in the cities. This is for the simple reason that it is much easier to change the decor, which is a technical matter, than to bring about the necessary changes in people's mentality.

It is a bitter paradox, however, that we in Tirana have not followed this example. Let us cast a brief glance merely at the buildings surrounding Skenderbeg Square. "Gloria to the Albanian Workers Party" [PPSh] is written above the Palace of Culture; "Glory to Marxism-Leninism" above the Executive Committee; "Long live the PPSh Central Committee" above the Construction Ministry; "Glory to the immortal work of Comrade Enver Hoxha" above the Agriculture Ministry; and "Raise high the revolutionary spirit" above the State Bank. If we continue past the other ministry buildings to the Council of Ministers and the university at the end of Martyrs of the Nation Boulevard, we can collect the entire arsenal of slogans that Marxist-Leninist ideology offers, all written in outsized letters and illuminated.

If we were to end here, this would only be half the evil. These slogans make our capital city, which is so modest that it is painful to remember that it is a European capital, seem overbearing and aggressive to the ordinary citizen who wants to think independently. This entire monochrome arsenal of slogans is copied thousands and tens of thousands of times on the facades of almost all the apartment blocks, on the strange notice boards encouraging emulation erected among these blocks, in the Red Corners of the offices of the Democratic Front in the blocks and districts, although this organization is now an independent political subject (!), in nurseries, kindergartens, and schools of all kinds, even in the school for retarded children and on the premises of the institute for the deaf and dumb, in hospitals and clinics, even in the maternity and psychiatric hospitals, in all the enterprises and social and cultural institutions without exception, in the courtrooms and the prosecutor's office, the local police stations, in shops and confectioners, in the auditorium of the Opera and Ballet Theater, and in the halls of the National Library: everywhere, everywhere. A citizen's eye is confronted everywhere with the same texts. Furthermore, the organizers of every meeting, whether about the autumn sowing or atomic energy, feel it necessary or are obliged, one does not know which, to deck out the hall in exactly the same way.

Does not this revanchism of monistic slogans exercise systematic ideological terror against the inhabitants of our capital city, who are aware that by law they live in a pluralist climate? Many might say that people are now weary of their presence, and pass by them without noticing. Nevertheless, this is not true. Particularly now, it is not true. People have the right to ask what their presence means. Their significance can be discovered if one remembers who put them there and who keeps them there unchanged. It is known that PPSh committees have so far been exclusively responsible for the decor of our towns, because this is a very important aspect of this party's political and ideological propaganda. The period since the decree on pluralism has been a very busy time for the working people of these committees. It is hard to believe, however, that they have failed to realize that this decor has not only outlived its time, but is impermissible if the equality of political parties is to be taken seriously.

Imprisonment of Anti-Stalin Ralliers Protested

AU0302190491 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 12 Jan 91 p 2

[Prec Zogaj article: "Stalin Removed, Anti-Stalinists Still in Prison"]

[Text] A year ago, the demonstration of 14 January took place in Shkoder. The demonstrators' plan was to demolish Stalin's bust. This led to the arrest and imprisonment for up to 12 years of some demonstrators who are still serving their sentences today, although the symbols of the Bolshevik dictator have been removed in Albania.

Everybody remembers it: The news that something (clashes, demonstrations) had happened in Shkoder spread from mouth to mouth throughout Albania and abroad. Meanwhile, our public media engaged in an extraordinary campaign of denial! Dozens of people were put in front of microphones and cameras. Evening after evening, we were told that nothing had happened in Shkoder—nothing, nothing. Evening after evening, the television and radio unloaded into our living rooms militant oaths in the name of Jezerce, Korab, and Tarabosh. [northern Albanian mountains, reference to Alia's statement in PPSh plenum speech in January 1990, "Tarabosh does not shake in the wind."] It was incomprehensible: If nothing had happened in Shkoder, why these oaths?!

In the irony of things, the only people with the honesty to admit that clashes and demonstrations had occurred were the investigative services and the High Court, during the investigation and trial of some of the organizers and participants in the demonstration. These people, as can be seen in their respective charge sheets, were accused of wanting to demolish Stalin's bust. This aim expressed "hatred of the socialist system and their desire to achieve capitalist transformations in Albania like in the countries of the East." The investigators and judges were quite right to tie the name of Stalin to socialism in Albania. This tie has been strongly underlined in school texts and jubilee speeches, and it has been said that whoever wants to dethrone Stalin wants to dethrone socialism. They therefore had no reason to take lightly the desire of the accused not to have the bust of a foreign dictator in their ancient city.

Thus, on 20 April 1990, the accused were brought to court and accused of the penal act of agitation and propaganda against the state. They were imprisoned for up to 12 years. Meanwhile, the hunt went on with secret sentences at whim. Two Shkoder citizens, Zef Kasneci and his son Franko, were interned and secretly held in the village of Malinat near Berat, without trial, and without knowing why they had been isolated.

On the night of 20 December 1990, Stalin's statue and its long shadow were removed from Martyrs of the Nation Boulevard. Tirana woke up to find it gone, while Stalinism's last victims, the Shkoder demonstrators, woke up in prison.

It would have been an honest gesture to remove Stalin on that Sunday with the same pomp and circumstance with which he was installed. It would have been an honest gesture, before removing the bust of an enemy of Albania, to release from Albanian prisons those who suffered because of him in the year of democracy; however, nothing of this kind happened. As we have been informed from Shkoder, eight of those convicted are still in prison. They are: Ded Kasneci, bulldozer operator, sentenced to 12 years' imprisonment; Gjergj Livadhi, sentenced to eight years; Rin Monajka, sentenced to seven years; Kolec Ublina, sentenced to five years; Kolec Daka, sentenced to five years; Aldo Ferizi, sentenced to four years; Flamur Elbasani, and Nikolin Malgjini, each sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

They have therefore committed a "penal act" written in the code of ridiculous jealousy laid down in our political life, according to which the PPSh and the government have to be the first to do everything; however, people's memories remember everything in its right order. These people are workers for democracy and, under the new conditions that have been created, must be released immediately.

Kocollari Queried on Trade Union Reorganization

AU3101140391 Tirana PUNA in Albanian 22 Jan 91 p 1

[Television interview with Sotir Kocollari, president of the Trade Unions of Albania, by unidentified reporter on 19 January: "The Aim of the Organization's Independence Is To Preserve the Unity of the Workers Class"]

[Text] [Reporter] How do you assess the situation through which our country is passing and what is the position of the Trade Unions in this situation?

[Kocollari] The economic and political situation through which our country is passing is very difficult, as many previous participants in television discussions have said. This was the reason that the political parties and sociopolitical organizations met, examined this situation, and issued the call that has been made known to all our people. Our organization is aware of this situation. Its task and position at this time is to raise the mobilization of the workers class and hurl them into work to fulfill their tasks, not to make the people's life more difficult and to create the best conditions for as democratic a life as possible.

[Reporter] You have now declared the organization to be independent. What is the essence of this independence?

[Kocollari] The General Council decided a short time ago to declare the organization independent at a national level. This independence lies in the fact that all working people, workers, white-collar workers, and intellectuals, regardless of their political or party allegiances and their political, ideological, or religious beliefs, are included in the trade union organization. In this way, the principal essence of this organization, which will be pluralist in its views, discussions, and the decisions it will make, will be the protection of workers' interests and rights. The aim of this decision, therefore, is to preserve the unity of the workers class, to unite it, and not to create at different times various organizations of workers that will belong to different political parties, which would harm this unity and harm the work of the workers class itself and the working people of our entire country.

There are tendencies among certain individuals and groups to create so-called free trade unions [sindikata te lira]. This would scatter workers and scatter the membership of the trade unions, and would in consequence create several instruments and transmission belts out of the single instrument or transmission belt which we once were. This is not in the interest of our society, while we, in not formally but genuinely declaring this organization to be independent, are working concretely to be independent of any political party. We are not an instrument or a transmission belt, but a pluralist sociopolitical organization in the interests of workers.

[Reporter] What are the basic changes in the organization's work, apart from its independence?

[Kocollari] In all its activity, our organization will deal first of all with the lives of the work force, its membership. It will deal with their pay, food, technology, transportation, and many problems that are the concern of all working people. To be realistic, we also used to deal with these issues, but our legislation and our position under the tutelage of others led to these functions not being properly fulfilled. We intend to organize ourselves in a totally different way. We realize that enterprises today have no need for 100 organizational levels, shop floor, brigade, and factory organizations, etc. We intend to create trade union councils in the enterprises with representatives of all sectors of the enterprise's work and production. This workers' council must consist of the best people, people of clean character, uncompromised people, impartial people who may be of any political party or of none, and whom the workers love, who will work solely to protect workers' interests. Similarly, at a national level, we intend to move toward federations of trade unions according to different professions. For example, mine workers will join the Mines Trade Union Federation, etc. These federations will also be independent of the General Council, which we have today or the confederation, which will be created. They will act fully independently, both financially and economically. They will have links with the confederation on key problems where they themselves need these links. In this way, a totally independent organizational structure will be created with skilled and capable people, getting rid of compromised people, people who have not worked or who have been in involved in favoritism or cronyism, and bringing in people whom the workers love. When I say that we must get rid of people, I am not thinking of only the chairman of an organization, but people as far as the president, myself. Everyone may be moved, so that people whom the workers love may come.

This is our conception of trade union independence.

In conclusion, I wish to say that I call on all the organizations of the trade unions [bashkime profesionale], as we call them today, and the trade unions [sindikata], which they may call themselves if they wish, to shoulder their work, mobilize, and protect workers' interests, reorganizing themselves by starting immediately with the election of the most appropriate people to the trade union councils I mentioned above. I trust that the workers of our country will take the lead in this great struggle to stabilize the country's economic and political life.

Popov Meets Swiss, Cypriot Presidents in Davos

AU0202203791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] In Davos today Prime Minister Dimitur Popov met with the President of Switzerland Arnold Koller, and with members of the Swiss Government. They discussed issues connected with concluding agreements on the mutual protection of investments and the avoidance of double taxation of joint companies.

The Bulgarian prime minister also held talks with Cypriot President Yeoryios Vasiliou. The two leaders discussed the prospects for expanding economic cooperation. The Cypriot side expressed readiness to grant long-term credits to Bulgaria on favorable terms.

Prime Minister Popov also spoke at a symposium on democratization in Bulgaria, in which eminent politicians, businessmen, and journalists took part. He acquainted the participants with the political and economic reforms in Bulgaria and the government's plans for speeding up the transition to democracy and a market economy.

Lilov Leads Socialist Delegation to Austria

AU3001225291 Sofia BTA in English 2055 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Vienna, January 30 (BTA)—A delegation of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) led by the chairman of the Supreme Council Mr. Aleksandur Lilov visited Austria. The delegation held talks with representatives of the Austrian Socialist Party, the Austrian People's Party and the Communist Party of Austria.

The members of the Bulgarian delegation expressed the view that Austria and the other European countries could get more committed to the process of democratization in Bulgaria and said they were willing to draw on Austria's experience in carrying out the political and economic reforms in Bulgaria.

Special attention was paid to the possibilities for promoting cooperation between the BSP and the other socialist and social democratic parties in Europe.

Military Reporter Views Turkey's War Involvement

AU0202190191 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 4 28 Jan 91 p 7

[Article by Major Vladi Vladkov, NARODNA ARMIYA correspondent from the NATO staff in Diyarbakir, Turkey: "The War Is Landing on the Ground, Will Turkey Get Involved?"—all place as published]

[Text] When the war comes close to the people, a great commotion occurs. Everyone is trying to escape from dangerous areas to a more quiet place, while on his way he meets only soldiers and journalists who are anxious lest they miss the first attack. This happens in southeast Turkey today. Frightened by the vicinity of the war, the local population is trying to find safety in the central parts of the country, or on the northern and western borders. In the meantime 300,000 Iraqis who have lived through a real war are crowding at the Turkish borders opposite the town of Hakkari, trying to reach the same areas that the Turks are trying to escape from. As we see, the criteria about safety and a peaceful life certainly differ.

People in Turkey do not wish their country to get involved in the war, despite being convinced of the anti-Iraqi forces' victory. Some people hope that the Turkish guns will remain silent and try to provide arguments to support this stand. One of these arguments is that Saddam Husayn would hardly decide to take such an unreasonable and illogical step—namely to attack Turkey—considering that the U.S. and British troops are constantly raiding his army and military targets in the northern part of Iraq. Nevertheless, the "great" Iraqi warlord proved that it is quite illogical to talk about common and logical behavior when he is involved.

The other thesis is that a so-called second front is expected to open. There are also strong arguments in its support.

The first such argument is that the anti-Iraq coalition needs the assistance of Turkey in its aspiration for a prompt victory over Iraq. According to this theory, the United States is not interested in prolonged military operations. There is no doubt about a future victory of United States in the air war, but the goal of the anti-Iraq coalition, namely the liberation of Kuwait, can be achieved only through combat on the ground, which incidentally, has already started. This will be the most difficult and bloody stage of the U.S. preliminary scenario on the military actions. The superiority of Iraq regarding the number of tanks is well known. The opening of a second front in the north is likely to compel Saddam to divide his forces that would make his southern flank weaker, permitting the United States and their allies to accomplish operation "Desert Storm" at greater speed and with fewer casualties. Turkey's strong and numerous ground forces would be a great help in this respect.

In support of this argument the Turkish newspapers also cite certain facts. According to HURRIYET, transport aircraft of the S-130 type are constantly landing in the Batman air base a few hundred kilometers from Diyarbakir, where they are unloading military equipment and ammunition. The newspaper points out that they are dispatched from the U.S. military air base of Incirlik, near Adana, and according to some forecasts, fighter aircraft are expected to be deployed from that base to Batman. Movement of units is observed at the Iraqi borders, especially around the towns Dzhizre, Idil, Shirnak, and Silopi.

The daily MILLIYET pointed out that in opening the second front, Turkey would not fight alone. Part of the allies from the anti-Iraqi coalition would be deployed by helicopters and ships through the Mediterranean to the area in question. The bases of Incirlik near Adana and Murted in Ankara are major bases for the deployment of troops.

The second argument in support of Turkey's participation in the war against Iraq is related to this country's striving to become a first rate political and military force in the area. The Turkish president's statement that Turkey would control the region after the end of the war quite significant. Nevertheless, this future position must be deserved. The country's contribution will be represented by the invaluable assistance of the Turkish Armed Forces in defeating Iraq.

The interest of the journalists in the southeastern area of Turkey is quite indicative. The knowledge and intuition of the reporters and commentators are well known in this respect. The number of correspondents in the Diarbekir news center is constantly increasing. Nearly 300 reporters from 15 countries have arrived. Most of them have experienced the hardships of various military conflicts. Hence, no one here is trying to play the hero. They are always wearing their gas masks. Their clothes are comfortable and sensible, rather than fashionable. Many of them have rented cars and have already toured the bases of Diyarbakir and Erlach, where the German, Italian, and Belgian air squadrons of the NATO rapid deployment forces and some "Patriot" missiles are stationed. Others have departed for Hakkari, a town in southeast Turkey, situated approximately 550 kilometers from Diyarbakir, to meet Iraqi war refugees. Unfortunately, I was not allowed to visit these places.

The question of opening a second front cannot fail to cause the Bulgarian people's concern, considering that with the first shot fired, the war will practically reach our southeastern border.

Weekly Views Lukanov's Political Future

AU0202150991 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 4 28 Jan 91 p 9

[Angelina Petrova article: "Once More About Andrey Lukanov—But With a New Party?"]

[Text] One of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] deputies defined the six-hour struggle by his legislative faction last Thursday, 24 January, to achieve Andrey Lukanov's election to the post of chairman of the Grand National Assembly Commission on Foreign Policy, as a an act of political shortsightedness and even as political suicide. He also described it as a pyrrhic victory, despite the fact that the election itself did not cause a legislative explosion as the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] faction threatened until the last moment. At least the explosion did not happen immediately and not in the literal sense of the word. Common sense prevailed despite all things in the awareness that a legislative crisis under the present circumstances would precipitate within the country an uncontrollable situation under which it would become ungovernable (at least democratically).

It was, however, evident that Andrey Lukanov has no intention whatsoever to listen to the opinion of certain BSP deputies who advised him to withdraw from the visible political scene, at least for the few months preceding the forthcoming elections. Some of them are even more categorical in their opinion that they share with the opposition, namely that Lukanov has no moral right to force his name upon the image of his party, which is in the process of reforming itself. His almost inhuman resilience that made him resist all tolerable and intolerable attacks against himself, without even a gesture of protest, confirmed his resolve not to withdraw even temporarily from the great political game. Being Foreign Policy Commission chairman is hardly his greatest life ambition. Nevertheless, if he manages to continue riding on the crest of the wave, we might live long enough to see what position he actually aspires to in the future. There is rumor about him striving for the presidential post if the Grand National Assembly should be in favor of direct presidential elections. Lukanov does not confirm the rumor, but he does not deny it. "I have never taken such a decision, nor has my party ever discussed the question," he says.

It is exceptionally difficult, but not impossible, according to the legislative opposition, to confirm the statement that Lukanov has no political future, after he was forced to resign from the post of prime minister in November 1990. Naturally, the SDS deputies are far from solely relying on time, which is working for them, as they say, but only as a matter of principle. They are expected to extract the greatest benefit possible from the BSP parliamentary faction's decision to remove its member Aleksandur Strezov from the leadership of the Foreign Policy Commission. Mr. Strezov submitted an application for being relieved of his National Assembly deputy post in responding to this action. In his application, he complained about the untruthful statement by his fellow party members in the legislature that he has voluntarily resigned as chairman of the commission.

Todor Zhivkov, in a special letter disseminated by BTA last week, declared that he will give evidence against Lukanov for all the sins that the BSP and the SDS in unison attributed to him until recently. No connection, however, has been confirmed between the efforts of the opposition's new "ally" in discrediting one of the incontestably consolidating figures of the BSP and the rumors that the appointment of the court for the case against Defendant No. 1 is becoming increasingly difficult because of several judges having rejected the invitation to participate.

It is difficult to forecast whether the opposition will succeed in implementing its intentions regarding Lukanov. The more so, since he is not expected to rely only on his personal qualifications. The separation of a Social Democratic tendency from the BSP faction in the legislature is expected to be announced soon. Its official founder is supposed to be Dragromir Draganov, but no one has any doubts about Mr. Lukanov's role, which was certainly not restricted to his blessing for this idea. According to rumors, the objective of the Social Democratic tendency is to act as a bridge in rallying the leftwing forces in the country (the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party included, of course).

The more immediate goal is to be dissociated from Mr. Aleksandur Lilov and his idea of democratic socialism that for numerous committed politicians of the BSP remains only a form of public mimicry of the discredited Bulgarian Communist Party.

Irrespective of all process that might further develop in Bulgarian political life, all of them depend upon the length and outcome of "Desert Storm" in the Persian Gulf and from the developments in the Soviet Union. The future destiny of our nation, however, is our own responsibility.

Conference Views Start of Government's Reform

AU0202183491 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Announcement by the Press Center of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the BSP legislative group; place and date not given]

[Text] Today a conference was held in Sofia with the chairmen of the BSP municipal councils. The participants also included members of the BSP Supreme Council, BSP deputies in the Grand National Assembly, officials of the BSP Supreme Council, and journalists from newspapers and magazines.

A discussion was held on the viewpoint of the BSP regarding the start of the economic reform and the party's attitude to the problem of Turkish language teaching.

Atanas Tomov briefed the participants on the main elements of the government's work on launching and further developing the economic reform. He pointed out the political grounds that necessitated making an immediate start on the economic reform.

It was stressed that the BSP fully supported the actions of the government led by Dimitur Popov and the Socialist ministers in his cabinet. A number of critical comments and constructive proposals were made concerning the government's first actions connected with freeing prices, the increase in interest rates, protection of the social perquisites of the workers, and so on.

Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP Supreme Council, emphasized that the BSP unreservedly supports the start of the reform by Dimitur Popov's government. At the same time, the BSP will work for the consistent implementation of the reform and will campaign for the fairest possible distribution of the serious consequences of the crisis.

A discussion in depth developed on the draft document submitted by Filip Bokov on the BSP viewpoint on the issues of Turkish language studies, which is to be submitted to the BSP Supreme Council for approval.

Government Discusses New Economic Decrees

AU0302200791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Today the Council of Ministers discussed proposals and drafts of decrees and regulations related to the new economic reform. The government adopted a draft decree on turnover and revenue taxes, in essence taking the first step toward adapting our tax system to the world standards.

The government also discussed proposals on amending the foreign currency reform. Proposals were adopted, which actually put an end to the game played between the Ministry of Finance and the foreign currency black market. The profiteers stand to lose a lot. The liberalization of the foreign currency system includes the possibility of opening foreign currency accounts in our banks. A market foreign currency rate will be introduced, and it will be based on supply and demand.

By introducing the foreign currency reform Bulgaria comes closer to the Western market mechanism. [words indistinct]

The Council of Ministers also adopted an internal mechanism on trade exchange payments with CEMA member countries, based on state-level clearing agreements. This will increase the companies' interest in exporting their products to the USSR, in exchange for the oil that is so essential for our economy.

The existence of the "Bulgaria-1300" Foundation was discontinued. All assets and debts of the foundations were transferred to the newly established "Bulgaria" Foundation.

Government Decides To Free Prices As of 1 Feb

AU0102195091 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Report by Dimitrana Aleksandrova, Ekaterian Popova, and Evgeni Gavrilov]

[Text] As of 1 February, the prices of all goods and services will be freed, with the exception of electricity, thermal energy, propane-butane gas, and coal. The Council of Ministers adopted this decision on 28 January, after reaching agreement with the trade unions and employers.

The adopted decree approves new levels for wages, pensions, student grants, and other monetary remunerations and aid.

The government set the following prices for the population:

electricity—167.00 leva per 1,000 kilowatt-hours;

thermal energy - 50,00 leva per gigacalorie;

propane-butane gas—1.50 leva per liter; and

coal—210.00 leva a tonne.

A list was approved of essential goods and services whose prices will be specially monitored and controlled by the Council of Ministers.

According to the predictions of the experts from the National Commission for Coordinating Interests, the freed prices are expected to reach the following levels by the end of February:

flour—1.50 leva; "Dobrudzha" bread loaf—1.60 leva; "Stara Zagora" loaf—1.80 leva; pork—22.40 leva; veal—23.60 leva; spring lamb—22.80 leva; chicken—18.00 leva; fresh milk—1.80 leva; sour milk (500 g)—1.30 leva; cow's milk (125 g)—5.00 leva; cow's cheese—12.40 leva; "Vitosha" yellow cheese—17.60 leva; granulated sugar—4.50 leva; olive oil—4.70 leva; and pasta and noodles (500 g)—1.65 leva.

Railroad fares are expected to rise to 11.80 leva per 100 km. Bus fares are expected to reach the level of 15.40 leva for 100 km. A city transportation ticket will probably cost 70 stotinki.

The above list of the expected prices was announced yesterday by Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the "Podkrepa" Labor Confederation. The government did not give journalists a copy of the decree.

Emiliya Maslarova, minister of labor and social welfare, added that the cost of the consumers' shopping basket of 600 basic goods and services will rise 2.22 times that of December 1990.

The new social minimum per person will be 621.40 leva.

In this situation, the compensation for all working wages will be 270 leva. The minimum wage becomes 435 leva, which is 70 percent of the social minimum.

The compensations are to be paid by the employers together with the February salaries, but no later than 15 March. By agreement with the trade unions, companies which are in a serious financial position may reduce the compensation to 235 leva.

The supplements to pensions will be 182 leva. However, because of technical difficulties they will not be paid in February, Minister Maslarova said, but pensioners will receive the money between 1 and 7 March.

The compensations added to the monetary remunerations for temporary incapacity to work, pregnancy, childbearing, and caring for children will amount to 242 leva. For caring for chilren to the age of two, mothers will receive 242 leva supplement in addition to the assistance received to date, and they will receive 90 leva for looking after children to the age of three.

An amount of 100 leva will be added to the monthly supplements and children's allowances.

Compensation and assistance payments to the unemployed will be increased by 270 leva.

Student grants will rise by 130 leva.

The compensations provided in the decree are temporary in nature. Monitoring will continue of the levels of the freed prices, and in the even of sharp rises the Commission on Coordinating Interests will determine new levels of compensation.

"I accept the concessions made under pressure from the trade unions only because I am a disciplined member of the cabinet," stated Finance Minister Ivan Kostov.

He explained that high levels of compensation lead to an inflationary boosting of prices, and expressed fears that in such a situation the bank would raise the interest rate. According to his concept, one should start will a low level of compensation. Depending on the increase in prices during March, one should give as compensation the amount which is not received as a supplement. "Then we would have a method of finely adjusting prices and wages simultaneously," said Mr. Kostov.

He said that his concept was defeated by the journalists, who published their own versions of the new prices in advance. According to him, the trade unions then asserted that they could not agree with the level of prices and compensations proposed by the government because the information had leaked out and caused unrest.

"You did not perform a good service for the reform," said Minister Kostov, turning to the DUMA reporters. However, he them admitted that we did do some good for the government in that we prepared people for the price reform.

Finance Minister Presents 1991 Draft Budget

AU0102203891 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] At its session today, the Grand National Assembly dealt in a businesslike fashion with the three items on the agenda.

The debate on the bill on farm land ownership and use was reopened by Atanas Ganev, chairman of the Agricultural Policy Commission. Data was presented on the 75 members that had spoken in the debate and the 1,200 proposals that had been made; disputed questions had been agreed with the president, prime minister, and the leaders of the political forces represented in the legislature.

As chairman of the Legislative Commission, Aleksandur Dzherov urged the legislative members to vote for the bill on its first reading, to hasten its further progress. In their speeches, the members were unanimous in principle on the new concept of the law and the need to speedily adopt the law given rising inflation.

On behalf of the legislative group of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, Ivan Glushkov emphasized that this law is vital for the survival of the nation and the restoration of the age-old traditions of the Bulgarian village.

Petur Kornazhev of the Union of Democratic Forces reminded the legislature how much bread costs today, and urged his colleagues to vote.

Nora Ananieva of the Bulgarian Socialist Party spoke in support of passing the bill on the first reading, but expressed disagreement in principle with some of its premises.

The bill was approved on the first reading by 313 votes of the 328 members present.

Four ministers answered members' questions: Interior Minister Khristo Danov; Transport Minister Veselin Pavlov; Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Atanas Paparizov; and Boris Spirov, minister of agriculture and the food industry.

The second item in importance in the legislature's work was the country's draft budget for 1991, on which Finance Minister Ivan Kostov presented a report.

According to preliminary information, our budget deficit will reach 7,509 million leva—a grave legacy from the shortsighted economic policy. It was pointed out in the proposal speech that the country's immense foreign debt of $10,800 million will not [word indistinct] in the budget, and that we cannot count on foreign credits.

In the allocation of the budget, priority is given to the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education. It was pointed out that the strategy for the financial recovery of our economy contains certain painful decisions: the reduction of administrative and managerial staff, the reorganization of the ministry departments, and a new interest rate for financing housing.

In the conditions of inflation, it is planned that all interests will be balanced, stated Minister Ivan Kostov in winding up his proposal speech. He urged the legislative members to adopt this budget, so it can become law.

The debate on the draft budget is expected to begin at the legislature's next session.

Bank Chief Announces Base Interest Rate Rise

AU0102204591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] This evening Todor Vulchev, chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank announced on Bulgarian Television that the base interest rate, which was set at 15 percent about ten days ago, will increase today to 45 percent. For the first time in decades, the bank is setting the interest rate. This sharp increase is aimed at maintaining confidence and reducing inflationary pressure on the market.

The interest rate on deposits is to rise to 35 percent per annum, and higher interest rates are envisaged for term deposits. Housing savings accounts form the exception to this; for such accounts an interest rate of 8 percent is provided, in return for a possible granting of credit later on more advantageous terms.

New credits will be granted both to enterprises and citizens at an interest rate of 47 percent. For old credit obligations, an interest rate of 17 percent is envisaged for current loans, and 10 percent for housing loans.

The State Savings Bank hopes to [words indistinct], thanks to the repayment of old credit debts. If the rate of repayments falls, it will be necessary to make an adjustment to the interest rates on old debts, Todor Vulchev said.

Five-Year Trade Agreement Signed With DPRK

AU3101203691 Sofia BTA in English 1920 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—A new trade agreement was signed today by Bulgaria and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea [DPRK] which will regulate trade and payments between the two countries in the next five-year period. Payments will be settled in convertible currency. It is planned to sign annual protocols on the exchange of commodities, the payments for which will be settled under a dollar clearing agreement. For all other commercial operations between the two countries the payments will be made in freely convertible currency.

A protocol on liquidation of the rouble balance in the two countries' trade formed by December 31, 1990 was also signed.

Foreign Aid Agency Chief Reports in Assembly

AU3101204291 Sofia BTA in English 2007 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—Bulgaria is in urgent need of medicines, children's food and forage, Mr. Petko Simeonov, director of the Foreign Aid Agency, stated in parliament this evening. The agency was set up in November 1990 under a special law. It is directly subordinated to the president.

Not 40, but 70 types of life-saving medicines are needed now. The situation with children's food is also alarming. Farm animals are now fed with only 30 percent of their usual forage ration. The homes for parentless children and the aged have been provided with a minimum amount of food that would last them only until the end of February, Mr. Simeonov said.

The agency has no party biases, Mr. Simeonov, who is one of the leaders of the opposition, underlined. Twenty-two people work in it—physicians, economists, journalists. They process the information about the country's needs, distribute and control the distribution of the aid received. The agency is in close contact with the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Trade and Services, the Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations.

Some days ago the agency circulated through the BTA a report about the aid received in 1990. Up to now Bulgaria has received relief supplies from France, Switzerland, Britain, Greece, Germany, Spain, Italy, the Netherlands. Aid from the Netherlands, the USA, Greece and some other countries is expected to arrive soon.

Trade Union Protests Draft Labor Legislation

AU0102155291 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Telephone interview with Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation, by reporter Petur Donchev in Sofia on 1 Feb—recorded]

[Text] [Donchev] The news conference of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation ended about 10 minutes ago; it was led by Dr. Trenchev, president of the confederation. I am now with Doncho Ivanov, the confederation's vice president.

Mr. Ivanov, during the news conference it became clear that, after signing the agreement on social peace, the government is holding talks with the trade unions on preparing and adopting new legal acts. What are these documents, and what is Podkrepa's viewpoint regarding them?

[Ivanov] In the first place, the government has prepared a draft law on amendments and additions to Decree No. 56, by which it intends to end the moratorium on the sale of the property of state and municipal companies. This marks the start of the so-called small privatization. Because the government's draft law makes no mention of the participation of the trade unions, we strongly protest against this, and declare that nonparticipation of the trade unions in the small privatization may lead to immense social tension.

Under pressure from Podkrepa and the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria, and following several sessions of the subcommissions on employment, job cuts, and retraining of workers of the Commission for Coordinating Interests, the progress was halted of a further legal act prepared by the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare, which is aimed at collecting additional new financial means for the Social Assistance Fund. The approach being used by the ministry will (?affect) many unemployed, and the definition of who is unemployed contravenes the 44th Convention of the International Labor Organization, which Bulgaria signed and ratified.

The last legal act that Podkrepa expressed its disagreement of is the draft decree of the Council of Ministers on creating a privatization agency. We consider that such a subject cannot be dealt with in the form of a government decree, and that we should follow the experience of Poland and Hungary and place this agency under the control of the legislature.

Attacks Government's Reform Approach

AU0102214791 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] The leadership of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation announced today to journalists that it will put to its trade union members the issue of a unilateral denunciation of the Agreement on Social Peace if the government starts the economic reform on the basis of its decrees, and not on the basis of the laws approved by the Grand National Assembly.

The confederation voices concern over the fact that the bill on privatization approved at a session of the Council of Ministers was formulated as a draft decree of the Council of Ministers. Such matters cannot be dealt with in the form of subordinate legal acts, and this contravenes the agreement, stated Doncho Ivanov, vice president of the confederation.

It was stated that Podkrepa does not accept this approach, and that the discussion of the bill law in the legislature will delay the launch of the reform.

A demand was also made that the administrative council of the Privatization Agency should have (?regard) for the two main trade union organizations.

Social Democratic Party News Conference Reported

AU3101110891 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, which is a member of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] found the strength of speaking with its own voice.

This was confirmed by the SDS news conference, which included the participation of representatives from the party's legislative group and Executive Council, which opened in Sofia approximately one hour ago.

Petur Dertliev, chairman of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, recalled the following two events from the party's history which are linked to today's date—31 January, namely: The daily SVOBODEN NAROD resurrected on 31 January 1990, and on 31 January the Social Democrats pay tribute to the memory of Kosta Lulchev.

It was announced at the news conference that the party intends to hold a congress by the end of March 1991, while an international conference of the Social Democratic Youth International is expected to take place in Varna, in mid-March 1991.

Christian Democratic Front Denies Leaving SDS

AU0202145091 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] A declaration of the Coordinating Council of the Christian Democratic Front, an independent public citizens' organization, states that at the organization's regular annual meeting held at the end of January a decision was adopted on amending the organization's statute and program and changing its name to the Christian Democratic Front. The organization continues to be a member of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

The Coordinating Council considers that the announcement on the radio yesterday [1 February] that the front was leaving the SDS, which was made in the name of Ivan Stoyanov, is a clear attempt to put the SDS in a bad light. Ivan Stoyanov is a member neither of the Democratic Front nor of its legitimate heir, the Christian Democratic Front, and has no right to make statements on behalf of the organization, the declaration states.

Socialists 'Likely To Lose Property in Plovdiv'

AU0202172791 Sofia SVOBODEN NAROD in Bulgarian 20 Jan 91 pp 1, 3

[Anita Stanislavova report]

[Text] The Supreme Council of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] is very likely to lose all its properties in Plovdiv, and some officials may have to face trial. Because such a claim requires solid evidence, let us not be sparing with the facts.

By Order IK-541 of 22 February 1990, Todor Petkov, the former chairman of the Executive Committee of Plovdiv Oblast People's Council, hastily granted to the Plovdiv Okrug Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] a right to construct an administrative building in sector 318 according to the old plan, or sector 143 according to the new plan of the central area of the city. According to this document, the right to build is to be regarded as granted as of December 1965, in return for a payment of 132,030 leva. According to the above order, this amount should be paid into Account No. 180,002 at the Plovdiv Branch of the State Savings Bank, belonging to the Housing Construction Fund of the Plovdiv Oblast People's Council.

We will not argue about the legality of granting a backdated right to build, as this is a matter for the lawyers. More important is the fact that on 15 May 1990, an agreement was signed on the basis of this order (IK-541 of 22 February 1990) between the Plovdiv Municipality and...the BSP Supreme Council, represented by Vasil Kolarov, chief of the Financial and Economic Department. Let us recall that according to the order, the building right was transferred not to the BSP Supreme Council, but to the Plovdiv Okrug BCP Committee, as a result of which the reference to the foregoing order makes the agreement legally invalid. The real gaffe committed by the "competent Socialist gentleman" arises from the fact that in the agreement of 15 May 1990 they declare that they paid the amount of 132,030 leva into Account No. 180,002 of the Housing Construction Fund of the Plovdiv Oblast People's Council under a payment order dated 22 March 1990. This is a complete falsification. The payment order in question does in fact exist, but the BSP Supreme Council used it to transfer the amount to the bank account of...the Ministry of Finance, not to the Housing Construction Fund account at the State Savings Bank in Plovdiv. The relevant payment order specifically states that the matter concerns "the right to construct party offices in Plovdiv," and quotes payment order IK-541 made out to the credit of the Plovdiv Oblast People's Council on 22 February 1990.

Accordingly, the BSP Supreme Council has failed to fulfill its side of the agreement, and for this reason the agreement becomes invalid.

Despite this, Todor Petkov, the former chairman of the Plovdiv Oblast People's Council, forced through the council's Executive Committee a decision No. 143, which was adopted in Protocol 13 of 6 July 1990, "on exchanging the party offices for buildings and premises belonging to the municipality." Leaving aside the question of how advantageous this exchange is for the municipality at this moment, the fact is that it is illegal, because the BSP Supreme Council did not pay for the building rights.

Subsequently, an agreement was concluded on 21 June 1990 "on exchanging real estate belonging to the BSP Supreme Council for properties belonging to the Plovdiv Oblast People's Council." In a nutshell, this is an agreement to exchange nothing for something.

In any case, the court will probably have the last word.

320,000 Leave Country Between May 89-Jun 90

AU3101110391 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 24 Jan 91 p 4

[Aneli Bacheva report: "We Will Also Be Mentioned"]

[Excerpts] Western Europe is beginning to be afraid of eastern Europe. Some people forecast the danger of a new iron curtain, for which we shall not be responsible this time. The problem of East-West migration and of migration from eastern to central Europe has become particularly acute over the last two to three years. In 1989 alone, over 1.3 million people from the former socialist countries have emigrated.

UN specialists think that the mass migration wave is still in store. Approximately five million Soviet citizens are ready to emigrate as soon as they receive their foreign travel passports. The most extensive mass migration of peoples in the postwar period is expected to invade our continent and this worries the Western European countries, and the smaller states, in particular.

For precisely this reason Austria's EC initiative proposing a conference on East-West migration at the Vienna "Austria Center" is justified. [passage omitted]

Our country will also be mentioned at this conference. Without claiming absolute precision, we can say that 500,000 people have left Bulgaria over the last three years. Most of the emigrants are educated young people. It is interesting to point out that the number of emigrants for the whole century—between 1880 and 1990—amounted to 410,000 people, while between May 1989 and June 1990 a total of 320,000 people left our country. We believe that between 80,000 and 100,000 Bulgarians are currently staying abroad as illegal immigrants.

As a result of the latest amendments to the Law on Foreign Travel Passports, Bulgarian legislation fully accords with the international norms and practices of developed democratic states in this respect. It is the legitimate right and prerogative of all our citizens to leave the country and to return as they please, or to remain abroad. Hence, Bulgarians will continue to seek their fortune abroad. The same applies to Poles, Romanians, and Russians. Nevertheless, good will, cooperation, and a constructive spirit on both sides are required to prevent the wealthier nations from fearing us.

City Council Proposes Removal of Nuclear Reactor

AU0102225491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jan 91 p 1

[Mariya Stoykova report]

[Text] At its session held on 28 January the Provisional Executive Committee of the Sofia City People's Council adopted a resolution to propose to the Council of Ministers that the nuclear reactor in the "Mladost" Municipality be eliminated.

The reactor was shut down as long ago as July 1989. At the moment a project is being prepared for its destruction, stated Professor Panchev of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

In connection with the new housing policy that the Sofia City Council will implement, the Provisional Executive Committee has prepared proposals to the Council of Ministers on additions to or the repeal of legal acts concerning the allocation and sale of newly constructed apartments.

The main provisions advocated by the Sofia City People's Council envisage that the city council and municipalities will build and allocate housing only to meet the needs of citizens and families whose incomes are below the minimum living standard, for a circulating housing stock, and for compensating the owners of other properties. The Sofia City Council proposes that municipal apartments should not be sold, but that government departments and state, municipal, private, and cooperative companies should assume commitments for their construction.

The Architecture and Construction Commission should draw up by 1 April instructions for the allocation and sale of municipal plots granted to government departments, for constructing housing for savings account holders in the State Savings Bank (with accounts on 20 April 1990) and for young families who are not socially underprivileged. Only building companies will take part in the sales of the plots by auction.

The Sofia City Council is setting up a special department to combat speculation. This department will include specialists in trade, price control, and fighting crime. It is intended to assist the Economic Militia and the prosecutor's office in detecting economic crimes.

Interior Minister Denies Wire-Tapping Charges

AU3101142991 Sofia BTA in English 1350 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 31 (BTA)—In a letter published in "DEMOKRATSIYA" Mr. Khristo Danov, minister of the interior, dismisses allegations of the same newspaper that politicians' telephones are being tapped.

"No information of any kind has been or is or will be monitored or recorded" by Interior Ministry services and departments in any of the offices of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) or any other political organization, either in Sofia or anywhere else in the country, Mr. Danov said.

Mr. Danov repeats the statement made in February 1990 by his predecessor Atanas Semerdzhiev, now vice president of Bulgaria. The issue was raised again because, according to "DEMOKRATSIYA", the SDS offices in the provinces and quite a few of the daily's local correspondents complain that "oddly enough, their telephones are often disconnected or jammed".

IOJ Elects National as Vice President

AU3001204291 Sofai BTA in English 1930 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Harare, January 30 (BTA)—The International Organization of Journalists (IOJ) completed its 11th regular congress here. Mr. Aleksandur Angelov, chief secretary of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, was elected vice president of the IOJ. Mr. Armando Rollenberg of Brazil was elected president of the organisation.

International Shipowners Association Disbands

AU3001173491 Soia BTA in English 1633 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Varna, January 30 (BTA)—The International Shipowners Association (INSA) has decided to discontinue its operations at its last session in Varna. INSA was formed some 20 years ago by the Polish Ocean Shipping Lines, the Baltic and Black Sea Shipping Companies of the USSR and the Navigation Maritime Bulgare Shipping Company. Later on shipping companies of Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Cuba and India joined the organization as did the Interlighter International Shipping Company.

Mr. Aleksandr Frolov, secretary general of INSA over the last four years, said that the organization had to go out of business because the vigorous changes in the countries of Eastern Europe have clashed with the outdated structure of the association. A new form of integration in shipping will be sought.

Tomov Meets Chairmen of Interim Local Councils

AU3001203591 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Council of Ministers Deputy Chariman Aleksandur Tomov held a meeting today with the chairmen of the provisional oblast administrations and municipal people's councils of the larger towns in the country.

The participants in the meeting examined the problems connected with liberalizing prices and welfare services for the population provided for in the Council of Ministers decree of 29 January. Comments were made on the fulfillment of the decree and support expressed for the government's efforts in carrying out the new reforms in the country. Specific measures were outlined for welfare services.

Customs Officials Seize Smuggled Goods, Drugs

AU0102143491 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 29 Jan 91 p 2

[Ivan ilkov report: "Custom Officials Confiscated Goods and Currency Worth 1.5 Million Leva"]

[Text] The value of smuggled goods, of illegally imported and exported foreign and domestic currency seized by the customs officials at the Kulata, Zlatarevo, and Stanke Lisichkovo border checkpoints in the Pirin area, amounted to 1,525,000 leva in 1990.

Several attempts to illegally smuggle drugs have already been prevented on the Athens-Sofia train. According to specialists, the drug traffic is beginning to follow new routes, in addition to the traditional ones that we are familiar with in Europe, even if this trend manifests itself only timidly for the time being.

Interior Minister on Future KGB Activity

LD0102183191 Prague CTK in English 1651 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava Feb 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Interior Minister Jan Langos told newsmen here today that the Czechoslovak Government had approved his proposal to unilaterally rescind an agreement between Czechoslovak security bodies and the Soviet "KGB" secret service.

He said that "as from today any secret activity of KGB on the Czechoslovak territory is unlawful."

The federal government asked Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to annul the agreement through diplomatic channels. This agreement was concluded between previous Interior Minister Richard Sacher and KGB at the start of 1990. According to Langos, the Soviet side sticks to the agreement. At present there are six KGB officers at the Soviet Embassy.

Langos said that the Czechoslovak side does not take advantage of reciprocity of the agreement, having no representatives in Moscow. Czechoslovakia will not respect the six-months period of expiry of the agreement. Czechoslovakia will demand that only one KGB representative remain in the country, the minister said and added that so far there has been no response from the Soviet side.

Referring to a statement by Soviet Colonel Viktor Alksnis for Swedish Television that the November 1989 events in Czechoslovakia were financed by the Soviet side, Langos said that he has no evidence on this. It is a political question, he said.

Dienstbier Denies Havel Urged Pact Withdrawal

LD0102193591 Prague CTK in English 1719 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier told journalists here today that neither him nor President Vaclav Havel demanded an immediate withdrawal of Czechoslolvakia from the Warsaw Pact in connection with the events in Lithuania.

He said they only expressed their effort to respect the timetabled dissolution of the bloc in tune with an agreement concluded in June 1990 by the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee (PCC), concerning the abolition of military structures by July 1, 1991.

The minister pointed out that since October 1990 the Soviet Union has several times asked for a postponement of another meeting of the PCC, adding that Czechoslovakia, together with Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria will make every effort that the PCC be convened this month. If they do not succeed, these countries will have to start talks alone in order to keep to the timetable of the Warsaw Pact dissolution.

Asked about the aim of the next Tuesday's meeting with representatives of the NATO Political Committee, the foreign minister said the meeting will follow up consultations with NATO and added that within the creation of new security structures in Europe the experiences of NATO will be most valuable.

Dienstbier further said that the conversion of Czechoslovakia's armaments industry must continue especially with respect to the disarmament process in Europe and limited markets.

Referring to the Persian Gulf war he said Czechoslovakia's stand remains unchanged and Saddam Husayn must leave Kuwait.

Czechoslovak foreign Ministry spokesman Egon Lansky said Czechoslovakia's contribution to the Council of Europe will amount to about 690,000 French francs this year.

Progress of Soviet Troop Withdrawal Reported

LD0102210791 Prague CTK in English 1510 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—Forty-six out of a total of 83 Soviet garrisons in Czechoslovakia have been evacuated so far, reported Czech Minister of State Control Bohumil Tichy at a press conference today.

Soviet units made use of 13,000 hectares of soil and 6,500 hectares of forest, despite having initially requested only 4,000 hectares, said Tichy.

Soviet troops have been stationed in Czechoslovakia since the Warsaw Pact invasion on August 21, 1968. In Czechoslovak-Soviet negotiations in February 1990 it was agreed that all Soviet troops would be withdrawn by June 30, 1991 but it now appears likely that all of them may be gone by the end of this month.

According to the control ministry 25.9 per cent of the 73,500 Soviet soldiers stationed in Czechoslovakia when the withdrawal began still remain. Also still remaining are 12.5 per cent of Soviet tanks, 11.3 per cent of armoured vehicles, 13 per cent of cannons and mortars, 28 per cent of automobiles and 39.8 per cent of airplanes. In addition 230,000 tons of various other material still remains, 18.6 per cent of what it was approximately one year ago.

Environmental inspections have already been carried out in 227 localities evacuated by Soviet troops, said the minister. Only 12 of them were considered clean, with damages estimated at 243 million crowns. The Soviet Union however accepts responsibility for only 74.7 million crowns in damages.

Minister Tichy emphasized the necessity of strict inspections during the evacuation of Soviet troops from their garrisons as well as at the border. The commissions overseeing the withdrawal must organize themselves better so as to be able to calculate precisely the damages caused by Soviet troops during their occupation, said Tichy.

Havel Criticized on Baltic States Question

AU0102140791 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Jan 91 p 2

['M.K.'-signed commentary: "President Havel Will Not Visit the Baltic Republics"]

[Text] CSFR President Vaclav Havel has now been forced to take a clear position vis-a-vis the ongoing developments in the Baltic Republics. He has accepted that his much proclaimed visits to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia are "undesirable." There would be nothing strange in this, had he not earlier made it widely known that he is the greatest friend these republics have on the European continent and had he not attempted to justify his latest decision by "the CSFR's dependence on Soviet oil."

Havel, the would-be mediator in the Moscow-Vilnius dispute, probably received a first-class lesson in restraint from USSR Foreign Minister Bessmertnykh, who was in Prague several days ago, but Havel's courage failed him, and he did not admit this publicly. Such is the usual fate of empty gestures, gestures that Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski loudly cautioned against not so very long ago. It is much more honest to admit that one's possibilities of giving assistance are limited and let sleeping dogs lie (in this case, the bear?), than later to have to turn tail and scramble up the nearest tree.

The real reason behind the president's decision is, of course, something different, namely, he fears possible provocation and Soviet tanks, rather than a reduction in the supplies of Soviet oil. Worrying signals emanating from Moscow in the last few weeks say that certain circles there are increasingly eager to regain "lost" states in Eastern Europe. Similar catastrophic scenarios are also being disseminated by some Baltic states' politicians, who are concerned about giving their country's internal developments a greater political profile. Moderation in pronouncements and political modesty are once again becoming very sought after commodities in our geographical zone, especially in the sphere of diplomacy, where it is very easy to tell the professional from the amateur.

Reinforcements To Join Soldiers in Saudi Arabia

AU0102134291 Prague CTK in English 1642 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)— Reinforcements will join the Czechoslovak unit in Saudi Arabia in the near future, maybe within one week, Czechoslovak Defense Ministry Press Spokesman Petr Tax told journalists here today adding that the soldiers are well.

He said that the three men, including one career soldier, who wish to return home will be replaced. The unit will get bullet-proof jackets, fresh supplies of food, spare parts, and ammunition.

Petr Tax said that a poll conducted among Czechoslovak soldiers by the military social research institute on January 23 revealed that almost 75 per cent of them regard the use of military force against Iraq as correct.

The largest number of respondents think that the war is motivated by control of oil sources, while one-third of them hold the view that the war is aimed at repelling aggression.

Approximately 50 percent of those polled agreed with the dispatch of the Czechoslovak anti-chemical unit to Saudi Arabia and about the same percentage were against it, Tax said.

Airspace Use Approved for Noncombat Gulf Flights

LD0202055891 Prague CTK in English 2010 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry informed CTK today that the fedeal government agreed yesterday with the flights of foreign planes across Czechoslovakia's territory if the so-called state flights are involved.

The Foreign Ministry said the state flights include flights of civilian and military planes but not combat flights.

The debate on this subject was held by the government mainly in connection with shipments to the Gulf area.

Envoy Assures No Danger From Iraqis in Country

LD0202145391 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 2 feb 91

[Text] Deputy Foreign Minister Vojtech Wagner today received Iraqi Ambassador Mundhir Ahmad al-Mutlaq in Prague. They discussed issues of Czechoslovak-Iraqi relations, and matters connected with the presence of Iraqi citizens in our country.

In this connection the Iraqi ambassador gave an assurance that none of the Iraqi citizens on Czechoslovak territory will take part in any acts which may threaten the health or safety of Czechoslovak citizens.

Envoy Says Iran 'Strictly Neutral' in Gulf War

LD0202045891 Prague CTK in English 2033 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Prague, Feb 1 (CTK)—Iranian Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Hamid Reza Hoseyni told Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier here today Iran was strictly neutral in war in the Gulf.

Explaining the Iranian Government's stand on the conflict, the ambassador said his country's government is interested in solving it by diplomatic means.

Dienstbier said Czechoslovakia understood Iran's delicate position.

PLO Envoy Expresses Support for Iraq

LD0102180591 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Excerpts] The following report brought to our studio by my colleague Pavel Hovorka, is related to the conflict in the Persian Gulf. He attended a news conference given today by Samih 'Abd al-Fattah, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the state of Palestine to Prague. I assume that the main topic on the agenda was the war in the Persian Gulf.

[Hovorka] Yes, it was. Opening his remarks, the ambassador stressed that the state of Palestine regards the war in the Persian Gulf as a one-sided interpretation of the UN Security Council resolution. He said:

[Begin Al-Fattah recording in Arabic, fading into Slovak translation] What is taking place exceeds the framework of the UN Security Council resolution on Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait. This resolution, however, does not address attacks against Iraq and its destruction. Today, Iraq is exposed to U.S.-North Atlantic and Zionist aggression, and in this case we cannot but side with a great Arab nation, with Iraq. It is precisely U.S. aircraft, that are bombing Baghdad. It is not Iraq bombing Washington and other U.S. cities. This is exactly our truth. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Hovorka] The main thing I pointed out to the ambassador was that opposition to the PLO is developing in the world because terrorist actions in various countries are being linked with the Palestinians. This was Samih 'Abd al-Fattah's answer:

[Begin Al-Fattah recording] This opposition to the PLO is a consequence of the joint U.S.-Zionist propaganda, which is exerting a great influence on the world press and on world public opinion as a whole. They allegedly wish to cover up the crimes committed by Israel against the Palestinian population in the occupied territories. The world must therefore realize that more than 200 million Arabs, who are able to reverse the course of the war, stand on the side of Iraq. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Calfa on Nuclear Energy, Austria Talks

LD0202160391 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1855 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Interview with Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter; place and date not given on the "Ten Minutes With the Prime Minister" program—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Prime Minister, last week there was one question I did not have time to ask: The government made a decision the previous week on the division of powers in the media, proposing to the Federal Assembly a new wording for the bill on the division of powers in radio, television and CTK. We are continually being criticized for having a state monopoly on these media, and for the fact that the legislative conditions are not in place for private television stations. This matter is dealt with in the bill. Can you give us any more details?

[Calfa] Well, I would say that there is no monopoly at all on the broadcasting media. The fact that they are state institutions does not mean that they broadcast what the state wishes. The state, in fact, finances them and has certain personnel matters within its jurisdiction. We decided that we would recommend that the Federal Assembly make it possible for Slovak Television, Slovak Radio, Czech Television, and Czech Radio to be formed, to retain Czechoslovak Television as the federal broadcasting service, and Czechoslovak Radio on a much smaller scale of course, and to institutionalize this; in other words, so there is no relationship of superiority or subordination. Above all, the important thing is that this bill that we are sponsoring legislates for the possibility of other nonstate radio and television stations, and also foreign ones, to come into being on the basis of licenses. I must say, however, that in the government discussion we found, for example, that the Slovak side does not have any great interest in such licenses being issued, and the opinion was even voiced that Slovak Television should retain the position it currently has had for a number of years, and there should be no other television stations there.

[Reporter] So in terms of the law, if the Federal Assembly enacts this law, conditions will be formed for private television and radio stations to come into being.

This week the main item on your program was, I imagine, the complex and difficult talks you held with Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky. Last week we heard [Czechoslovak] Ambassador [to Austria, Magda] Vasaryova on Co Tyden Dal [television program] telling us about the various attempts and about the atmosphere in Austria against our nuclear power stations. So, how did the talks go, what did you really tell one another, and how do you view these matters?

[Calfa] Well, I must say that the talks took place in a completely different atmosphere than that created in Austria by the Austrian media. Mr. Vranitzky arrived with a specific offer: to shut down Jaslovske Bohunice's first two blocks—the two nuclear reactors in the V1 rated at 880 megawatts. In return, he wanted to offer a free supply of the same amount of electricity for 12 months. Our condition was that it had to be supplied to Slovakia, because Jaslovske Bohunice supplies electricity in Slovakia—at the moment we do not need it in the Czech lands but we do need it in Slovakia—and of course the matter of 12 months was debated because Jaslovske Bohunice's technical state means that it would continue to operate, with a few modifications, basically until about 1995. So, naturally I asked about supplies of electricity for the subsequent years. We wound up the matter by setting up a working group which will assess all these matters as a whole. It must be said, however, that even for the

Austrian economy, free supplies of electricity to Czechoslovakia or Slovakia in quantitites adequate to compensate for Jaslovske Bohunice is an exceptionally tall order, even for them, so we will see how it all turns out.

[Reporter] As for our energy program, we are being pressed from both sides, with Austria pressing us to shut down that block, while on the other hand we know how much fuss there is in North Bohemia and throughout the country about the smoke from thermal power stations. So what is our program, because Austria rejects any nuclear power.

[Calfa] Well, we will be discussing this matter in the government around mid-February, but the philosophy is quite clear: we will have to economize on electricity, we must reduce our electricity consumption throughout the economy. This will evidently be at the expense of business consumers, because there again we have a very low supply of electricity to our households. Electricity should help people in their households, so there will be a certain change. We must make electricity generation cleaner at coal-fired power stations by putting in filters to trap the ash and so on, because we know how it is devastating our environment. Then, of course, there will have to be fundamental decisions about nuclear power engineering. It is clear that we are going to stop building Soviet nuclear reactors. Certain possibilities are being offered for building smaller world-class reactors, foreign ones, and this is now being investigated, so we are not giving up nuclear power. We must cut our electricity consumption, and we must cut or clean up power generation at coal-fired power stations—that is our program.

[Reporter] Another delicate question this week was that of Moravia. Until now, all disputes about powers were dealt with at the level of Czech-Slovak relations; a number of problems have been settled satisfactorily, but a number still remain. It appears that in drafting the constitutions and in all future constitutional matters, the problem of Moravia cannot be avoided. What is your view on this as federal prime minister, although this is, in a way, a Czech matter, a matter of Czech political representation?

[Calfa] Well, it is not only a matter only of Czech political representation, it is also a matter of Moravia and Silesia. I would like to say that from the very beginning I have taken the view that Moravia and Silesia have so many important regional differences that these differences deserve to be reflected in some form of territorial setup within the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. So it is no surprise at all to me that the Moravians and Silesians demonstrated so emotionally and strongly last weekend and even before that—they were simply expressing their view. I think this view has to be addressed very seriously. Talks must be started with the representatives of Moravia and Silesia, and we are drawing up new constitutions, so these matters ought to be expressed in some way here too. Personally, I would always be in favor of the status of Moravia and Silesia being accorded the importance within the whole federation which is due to that region. It is a very rich region.

[Reporter] I think that will probably satisfy many Moravians, because that nationalist element that is finding its way into our power-sharing problems has, to some extent, been shifted to the regional sphere, and the idea of a [German-style] federal [spolkovy] setup will probably have many supporters. I do not know what your view on these problems is.

[Calfa] I do not associate the aspirations of Moravia and Silesia with a federal form of constitutional setup—this must be said clearly. Such a form must be discussed. Such a federal form would probably not be the best setup, but there are also other possible forms. It is not easy to speak about this just now, but it will have to be discussed, not only at Czech Republican level, but clearly also at Slovak Republican level, because I consider the issue of Moravia and Silesia a question of the whole federation.

[Reporter] All right, that is all for today. Thank you.

Havel Answers Questions During Bratislava Visit

AU0302182491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 31 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Alena Melicharkova report: "A Meaningful Federation Is Beneficial to Everyone"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—[Passage omitted] After the completion of his official program [during his visit to Bratislava on 30 January], the president answered our questions. Asked about his opinion on some of the topics which he discussed, in particular with representatives of the Public Against Violence movement and the Christian Democratic Movement, Vaclav Havel said: "We agreed on the acute need to draw up new constitutions. We also agreed on certain steps that we will take jointly and on the need for coordination. It is high time that the texts of the constitutions be submitted on the basis of political consensus," he said in reply to a question from NARODNA OBRODA.

NARODNA OBRODA also asked: Mr. President, do you think that the present economic reform and the liberalization of prices are sustainable for the majority of the population?

President Havel responded: "I am convinced that economic reform is necessary. I am concerned because it progresses slowly. The fact is that the more quickly it is carried out, the shorter the duration of the pains will be that the entire public is experiencing at present. Price liberalization, for example, started on 1 January because the scenario of the economic reform anticipated that small privatization would be fully under way by this time and that the law on big privatization would already be in place. The fact that [price] liberalization preceded privatization is the source of some complications that, perhaps, would not have been necessary. Implementing the reform in a half-hearted way could, however, prolong the period of hardship, high prices, strikes, suffering, and unemployment."

Journalists' questions also concerned the present heated situation in Moravia and Silesia. President Havel responded: "I honor the nations' right to their own identity as a basic principle. When someone wants to live independently, let him be independent. When someone wants to live as a land within the framework of a union or when he wants to live in a federation or confederation, he has every right to do so. First, we must, however, find out whether this is what people actually want or whether this demand concerns only some 10,000 radicals who go out into the streets. And everything must take a legal, constitutional course. One cannot change the constitutional arrangement of the state wantonly, in the streets."

Asked about the growing distrust of federal bodies in Slovakia, he said, among other things, that it is everyone's long-term task to make the nations perceive the federation as something which is truly their common property. And he added: "The only meaningful federation, in my opinion, is one that the partners understand to be their common cause, their own child, as something that is of benefit to everyone. If the partners were to perceive it as a matter of necessity, as something forced upon them, as something unpleasant which complicates their lives, it would be better not to have a federation at all." In the evening, the president of the Republic returned to Prague.

President Havel Gives Weekly Interview

LD0302182391 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1325 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by Jiri Vejvoda at Prague Castle; date not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Vejvoda] Good afternoon, Mr. President. I welcome you to our microphone again, this time at Prague Castle, where you have returned from your third—I think it is—working visit to Slovakia in the last few months. What feelings, plans, and expectations did you leave with, and what feelings did you return with?

[Havel] This was one of my routine working trips to Slovakia—unfortunately it was once against called a 'visit'. It was not a state visit—I want to do some work there, but unfortunately for the time being we still do not have offices there, so things are a little more complicated—but perhaps we will have them in the foreseeable future. What I did there is the same as what I do here at the castle. I received a number of people; I held all sorts of political talks. My impression is a good one. I had key talks with representatives of Public Against Violence [VPN] and the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]; they lasted several hours and were not just the usual sort of published official meetings at the castle, because beforehand we held talks long into the night—we did a lot of talking. If you remember, when I returned from my holiday I said that I had drawn up a hierarchy of matters to which I would give priority, and first on that list was drawing up the new constitutions. Therefore, I inevitably planned for that issue to be among the matters that I would be discussing in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

The constitutions will be the subject of extensive debate among the political forces in the representative bodies above all, as well as among the public. Naturally we will try to find common ground between the different ideas—try to find the features that have the broadest general support. Personally, I am trying to help speed up this process and to establish some sort of ground rules. That is why I have organized for this Sunday evening—in fact that means today, when this talk goes out—a meeting between the highest Czech, Slovak, and federal representatives, at which I want to reach agreement on a definite timetable for this coordinated work. It seems to me that this is really an important matter, as we are, in fact, making decisions on the constitutional conditions under which the generations to come will live—so it is truly an important matter for the life of our nations. [passage omitted]

[Vejvoda] You yourself said a short while ago that by mentioning Moravia, I had, in fact, asked two questions. I am now expecting the answer to the second question.

[Havel] Only a few days ago in Bratislava, where I was approached by journalists at the stairs and asked this question, I said that as far as I am concerned, land or regional formations have the right to decide their future, their fate, but that in the case of Moravia I was not sure whether this was really right, whether the demonstrations in Moravia really expressed the will of a majority of Moravians or a Moravian identity. I must say that after I said this, I talked to many different people, trying to find out a bit more about the situation. My office has also done some investigations, and I am beginning to believe more and more that Moravia should have some sort of independence [subjektivita]. Some time ago, it used to be an independent formation, and something of the Moravian identity survives to this day. There are two basic possibilities. The first is that in the future constitution there might exist some sort of a land setup within the framework of the Czech Republic, that it be a republic of two lands, that Moravia have its own land authorities, land administration, land setup. In this case it is the matter of the republican constitution.

Another possibility exists as well, however, and that is that Moravia be the third part of our federation, that we be a federation of three lands [trojfederace]. It is clear that a federation of three lands works better that a federation of two lands. In a certain way it would be a practical thing. Until very recently I considered this to be a very nice idea, but a sort of utopia, a bit crazy. I am hearing more and more voices, however, which cause me to think about this seriously. When I was in Slovakia, I talked with the Slovak representatives about this alternative as well, and I was surprised to hear that in fact they are not against it. They are not against it for various reasons. I was worried that they would be against it. This is probably one of the possible alternatives that should be decided quite soon, because it is an issue that should be solved in this constitution. We cannot draw up a constitution presuming that in a year, or in two years' or four years' time, another one will be valid. It would not be too much of a problem to replace a federal constitution with the constitution of a three-land federation instead of a two-land federation. The same number of fundamental pillars of a constitution are valid whether we have two, three, or more lands. If it is thought out for two, then it makes it so much easier to change it into three.

[Vejvoda] Mr. President, to change the subject, Federal Assembly Deputy Daniel Kroupa surprised many people by presenting an idea, a proposal, this week that Civic Forum [OF] should and could become a sort of a moral umbrella element or movement rather than a party. Many people were surprised in a very positive way—others asked why the alleged right was bringing this up, almost too late. I would also like to ask you one more question, again based on Mr. Kroupa's remark—are you prepared to lead such an organization, and do you still think it is good to be a president who stands above the parties?

[Havel] [passage omitted] I have to say that I quite liked that proposal. Of course, I do not know if it is going to be supported or opposed. OF already began transforming itself into a more sharply defined party under Vaclav Klaus's leadership, and it would probably oppose having a different model forced upon it now. After all, what they will agree upon depends on them.

Kroupa's proposal has positive elements, as it solves a quandary in which OF finds itself. On the one hand, we feel that it should have a firmer and more defined form to be capable of acting as a political force; we feel that differentiation within OF is necessary. On the other hand, however, the mandate given to OF in the last elections was given to it as a wide-ranging movement, a platform for many. It is not possible, either, to totally abandon this mandate or distance oneself from it without a word of explanation. At least not before the next elections, during which more specific political subjects will act on their own behalf, and powersharing will depend on the number of votes they received.

It could be quite a good solution, for the transitional period, to have OF be a moral umbrella element of a rather symbolic character, reminding us of the ideals of this revolution but at the same time remaining a platform on which specific political subjects and parties associate to play roles in everyday policy.

I really do not dream about another post, but if events really do take this path, and providing I considered it inevitable and beneficial, then I would accept it. Nevertheless, I would like to repeat once more that I seriously doubt that such a model can be pushed through and win. It is probably too late for that now, when OF has already begun its transformation into a party. [passage omitted]

[Vejvoda] When it happens that a so-called colleague of yours takes a course of action, as did Mr. Frederik Willem de Klerk in the South African Parliament when he proposed that all measures supporting apartheid be abolished, then it certainly makes a president of your type happy. This happened on Friday, as you well know, and I propose to conclude today's "Conversations at Lany" with your comment on this subject.

[Havel] This is a beam of light coming to us from South Africa in today's world, which cannot be described as a joyful one, where peaceful prospects are overcast by dark clouds, both over the Persian Gulf and the Soviet Union. This is also a sign that in a country which for years has caused bitterness, dissent, and protests throughout the world, the idea of the society of citizens we spoke about is winning.

For the time being it has a hope of winning on the legislative field, and subsequently it will have to be really implemented in everyday life. This will not be a short or an easy process. Nevertheless, it is a sign filled with hope; it is another good thing happening somewhere in the world. It is encouraging, and I think a possibility of establishing regular diplomatic relations with the Republic of South Africa has now emerged, because the main obstacle is in fact being removed.

It would be good if more such signals appeared these days, and from different places in the world.

Federal State Proponent Argues for Three Lands

LD0302195991 Prague CTK in English 1557 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Lnare, South Bohemia, Feb 3 (CTK)—All agree that the best solution would be a federal state which, if it is to be functional, must be composed of three lands, Deputy Chairman of the Czech National Council Zdenek Malik told CTK today.

Malik, deputy of the Movement for Self-Government Democracy-Society for Moravia and Silesia, was speaking about a working meeting of the Czech government with some deputies of the Czech National Council and experts held in Lnare, South Bohemia, during the weekend. He said the creation of a tripartite federation is conditioned by the stand of Slovakia.

He further said that Czech deputies consider the question of economy of primary importance and mean that the solution of the territorial setup can wait.

He also refuted the view that rehabilitation and restoration of Moravia and Silesia are purely the affair of the movement he represents. He expressed the conviction that the overwhelming majority of population of this area share this opinion.

Unlike Zdenek Malik who said that all agree with the tripartite setup, Deputy Chairman of the Czech National Council Jan Kalvoda, Civic Forum deputy, believes that federation will exist in its present form and says that the demand for Moravia's self-government is irrational. It is a step back, against the trend towards the integration of Europe, he added.

Calfa Opposes Tripartite Federation

LD0302204691 Prague CTK in English 1847 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Kosice Feb 3 (CTK)—"I do not favour a tripartite federation," Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa said here today, adding that the problem of a new constitutional setup should be considered without emotions in order to arrive at a consensus in all three constitutions which are underway.

"If a coalition partner officially declares it has a different blueprint for the economic reform, just as KDH (Christian Democratic Movement) did recently, it is a serious signal to start studying what is going on," Calfa responded to a question on the viability of the Slovak government coalition (VPN, KDH, Democratic Party). The coalition partners should meet for a new round of talks on whether the present consensus in the economic policy is still valid. If not the rigidity and extent of the coalition will be influenced, Calfa told a session of the VPN regional council.

Asked how he wants to help solve the problem of unemployment in East Slovakia (biggest in Czechoslovakia) in his capacity of federal parliament deputy for VPN and prime minister, he said that there are some 20,000 jobless people in this region. He wants to focus attention in talks with foreign partners on the development of tourism in the high Tatras-Presov area.

Calfa spoke about the intention to found a duty-free zone in East Slovakia which might help create new job opportunities, promote trade and acquire progressive technologies.

Calfa is on a working visit to East Slovakia since yesterday.

StB Collaborators Reportedly Blackmailed

AU0302153291 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 30 Jan 91 p 2

[Interview with Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner by "aj", in the "One Question For" column; place and date not given]

[Text] [VEREJNOST] In an interview with Radio Free Europe, you spoke about State Security [StB] collaborators who are being blackmailed and, in this context, you even mentioned the real possibility of them being blackmailed by foreign intelligence services. Could you be a bit more specific?

[Pittner] We know about specific facts, which I am not going to specify for understandable reasons. I have known about such cases ever since I began my work as deputy director of the Federal Ministry of Interior Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. I can only confirm that we avail ourselves of certain documentary evidence of this filthy game.

Commission Protests Minister's Dismissal

AU0102134491 Prague CTK in English 1353 GMT 30 Jan 91

[Text] Prague Jan 30 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak parliamentary commission investigating the November 17 1989 events said today it disagreed with the dismissal of a person whose collaboration with the former StB secret service was not really proved.

In a statement, conveyed to CTK by the commission's spokesman Petr Toman, the commission referred to the case of Czech Environment Minister Bedrich Moldan who was dismissed by the Czech Parliament Presidium on January 24. The statement noted that Moldan was dismissed although even detailed inquiries had not proved his collaboration with the StB.

The statement said that these practices question the results of vetting and open scope for subjective decisions. If the Czech parliament's vetting commission supplied the proofs of Moldan's collaboration with the StB, it is necessary to make them public.

The commission said it regarded the results of vetting as absolutely reliable and conclusive and only clear proofs can be the ground for a suggestion for the person in question to resign.

Deputy Interior Minister on Border Protection

LD0102224791 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava Feb 1 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Deputy Interior Minister Jan Ruml told newsmen here today that reorganization of deployment of Czechoslovak troops along the country's frontiers is to be completed by the end of March 1991.

He said that 64 per cent of troops will be deployed in the Czech republic (up to 84 per cent until 1989), 36 per cent will be deployed along the Polish-Soviet-Hungarian border in East Slovakia.

This step is part of the first phase of reorganization of the Czechoslovak Army in connection with a new military doctrine. Within the second phase the protection of frontiers by the army is to be replaced by professional border police.

Troops totalling 500 men have been sent on the eastern frontier in connection with tension in the USSR and the possible inflow of refugees. In case of need these troops can be reinforced by 300 men and within a short period by another 1,000 men, Jan Ruml said.

Referring to the possible inflow of refugees, he said Czechoslovakia is prepared for their reception in refugee camps but also counts with the possible infiltration of armed groups and individuals. Measures to protect the country's eastern border are considered adequate, he added.

Assembly, Government To Discuss Energy Plan

AU0102151191 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jan 91, p 8

[Blanka Ruzickova article: "Making the Real Needs Clear"]

[Text] The Federal Ministry of the Environment has worked out the principles of the state policy on power production. These principles will soon be presented for discussion in the governments and in parliament.

The document represents a complete concept for energy production. The decision on this document will have to be passed in the context of its impact on our entire industry and ecology.

The principles of the state policy contain two scenarios for extreme conditions. The first one assumes that the drop in the gross national product will be stopped and the economic reform fully implemented after 1992. In this case, the internal consumption of primary energy resources should drop by six percent before 2005. The share of electric power [in the overall utilization of energy] will increase from 94 Terawatthours to 112 Terawatthours, while 19 to 21 billion square meters of natural gas and 11 to 13 million tonnes of crude oil will be imported annually. This alternative assumes that the first and second unit of the Temelin nuclear power plant will be put into operation and, should the two V-1 units in Jaslovske Bohunice Nuclear Power Plant be taken out of service, another 3,000 to 4,000 megawatts of the installed capacity of nuclear power plants will have to be used.

The second scenario anticipates that the drop in gross national product will stop only after 1997. Our consumption of primary energy sources would drop by 15.7 percent as of 2005, while the consumption of electric power would slightly increase to between 98 and 100 terawatthours. Gas imports will attain 16 to 18 billion square meters and crude oil imports 10 to 11 million tonnes per annum. The brown coal extraction will drop to between 40 and 45 million tonnes. After the construction of the first and second unit of the Temelin nuclear power plant is finished, the installation of another 1,000 megawatts of electric power output from nuclear power plants is considered.

As Engineer Architect M. Riha, Czech deputy environment minister, said at the news conference recently, the draft principles undoubtedly respect ecological aspects as well. Despite this, the Czech Republic Ministry of the Environment has some comments to say regarding the draft documents and it wants to point to other alternative solutions. Basically, the ministry does not approve of the construction of new nuclear power plants on the Czech Republic's territory. In view of the knowledge of the risks linked with nuclear power plants and because there is a possibility of utilization of other sources of energy, no more nuclear power plants should be built in our republic after the construction of Mochovce and Temelin nuclear power plants is finished. Besides the danger linked with the operation of nuclear plants and the storage of radioactive waste material, the Czech Republic Ministry of the Environment points to the World Bank data that show that the production of electric power in brown coal power stations is less expensive than in nuclear power plants.

The concept does not emphasize enough the necessity of saving the sources of primary energy. The anticipated reduction of their consumption by 6 or 16 percent does not correspond to the trends seen in developed countries. The reduction of the consumption of primary resources—that is, larger savings—is anticipated to reach, for example, in Denmark and Austria 26 percent, in France 24 percent, and in Great Britain 23 percent. This is why, according to the opinion of the Czech Republic Ministry of the Environment, it is necessary to save up to 30 percent of this energy before 2005. Price and tax policies—that is, putting the price of all kinds of energy on a realistic basis and, in the initial stage, giving an advantage to the manufactures whose energy consumption is low—will have a decisive impact on when this goal will be reached. Identical attention will have to be paid to pertinent legislative provisions (strict technological standards meeting European standards) and the introduction of measuring and regulating appliances so that consumers will be motivated toward a consistent saving of energy.

Moreover, large reserves in alternative resources were not properly estimated. Besides a wider utilization of renewable resources (water, wind, solar energy, geothermal energy, biological gas, heating timber), this pertains, above all, to secondary energy (compressor stations, coke-oven gas, waste energy from metallurgical and chemical industry, etc.) whose potentials are not sufficiently utilized.

The concept, in fact, pays almost no attention to the utilization of the capacity of the existing energy resources. A radical modernization of heating plants and, above all, their transformation into plants producing simultaneously heat and electric power was omitted in the study. "The idea of a combined production of heat and electric power was dropped in the 1950's and this illogical trend—that is, the construction of power stations utilizing the condensation cycle of water on one side and the construction of inefficient heating stations on the other—still continues," said Engineer Otakar Chlouba, representative from the South Bohemian Power Plants.

After the transformation of the existing heating plants production into a combined production [of power and heat] it is theoretically possible to attain the output of 512 megawatts of electric power. By introducing various modified gas and steam-and-gas cycles in the gas heating stations it would be possible, according to the Czech Republic Ministry of the Environment, to acquire almost another 500 megawatts of electric output.

According to presented data, it seems that the required increase of 1,000 Megawatts of electric power, as specified in the second alternative of the Principles of the Policy on Power Production, can be acquired by the mobilization of all existing resources, that is, without the necessity to build more nuclear power stations. The overall policy, however, must encourage, above all, the introduction of economic measures in energy consumption.

Baskay Comments on Organization of Foreign Trade

AU0302180091 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 30 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Foreign Trade Federal Minister Jozef Baksay by Jana Havligerova and Jan G. Beer; place and date not given: "Liberalization as Soon as Possible"]

[Excerpts] "For now, we are not going to start any liquidation," the new federal minister of foreign trade, Jozef Baksay, told us upon his assuming the office.

Responding to our question regarding the future of his ministry, Baksay said:

[Baksay] [Passage omitted] If I did not change the structure of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade [FMZO], it would mean a very rapid liquidation of the ministry. I believe, however, that this ministry is very much needed at the present stage of our existence. It has two principal functions: first, to secure sufficient quantities of raw materials, energy, and other supplies for the operation of the economy and industry; second, and a very difficult task, is to secure marketing of our products abroad.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] What method will you apply in realizing these goals? Will you keep the foreign trade monopoly?

[Baksay] We want to use the following means to achieve our goals: First, in a very short time, we intend to introduce a thorough reorganization of FMZO, particularly of the Prague office. I believe that the number of staff will have to be reduced. I also anticipate a certain adjustment in the number of deputy posts. [passage omitted]

Another set of problems to be dealt with is more complex. It is a complete liberalization of foreign trade. Every registered entrepreneur should have direct access to foreign trade. [passage omitted]

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] Will the structure of trade representative offices and missions also change?

[Baksay] [Passage omitted] There are trade counselors at most Czechoslovak representative offices, and in many countries, we have independent chambers of trade. These offices are not always functional. Personally, I like the Japanese model with its flexible and dynamic teams of experts who periodically map the market and provide the information obtained.

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] The liberalization of foreign trade certainly is relatively simple as far as it concerns industry. But how about agriculture and the food industry?

[Baksay] Agriculture is a specific area. I believe that it would be an easy task to vanquish it altogether. The productivity in this sector is not the best and the outlay is great. I believe that if foreign trade made the import of agricultural products possible, entrepreneurs would jump at the opportunity, but on the other hand, it would totally decimate our agriculture. Hence, in the first stage, we will implement certain import duties, and knowing that these duties are not permanent will be an excellent warning to our agricultural industry. [passage omitted]

[HOSPODARSKE NOVINY] You spoke of securing the basic raw materials for the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic as the fundamental task of the ministry. Are there emergency measures planned for catastrophic situations; for instance, in the supplies of crude oil or coal from the Soviet Union?

[Baksay] That is an essential issue. The world supply of raw materials are threatened as a result of the situation in Persian Gulf, and it is difficult to predict the new developments. The present state of the Soviet crude oil supplies is good, an inflow of 30,000 hectoliters daily. Nevertheless, we seek a conceptual solution in the markets of Southeast Asia [passage omitted].

Miklosko on Division of Powers in Media Affairs

AU0302152891 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 30 Jan 91 p 3

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Miklosko by "evc"; place and date not given: "Quo Vadis...; Will Slovak Television and Slovak Radio Benefit From a Compromise?"; first paragraph is VEREJNOST introduction]

[Excerpt] Will Slovak Television and Slovak Radio benefit from a compromise? Last week we learned that the federal government discussed the draft law on the division of powers between the CSFR, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic in the sphere of the press and other information media, which also concerns the existence of radio and television. Not only media workers, but also many domestic and foreign businessmen are impatiently waiting for this law, as they do for the law on Slovak Television and Slovak Radio. The funds of both radio and television, especially in Slovakia, have been severely limited, and there exists as yet no legislative basis for them to conclude any agreements. We have asked Deputy Federal Prime Minister Jozef Miklosko about the contents of this law, which is to be passed by the Federal Assembly.

[Miklosko] In October the Slovak National Council submitted to the Federal Assembly the first draft of the law on division of powers [in the sphere of media]. This draft did not win the federal government's support. The federal government has discussed this issue several times since then and only now, last Thursday [24 January], did it discuss the last version of this law, which represents a certain compromise. Three deputy prime ministers, Messrs. Milan Lukes, Jan Carnogursky, and myself, met in Brno about a month ago and agreed on the division of powers [between the federal government and the governments of the republics]. This new draft is a slight deviation from that agreement in favor of the federation. The main disputes concerned the issuance of licenses for nonstate broadcasts and the powers of federal television. [Under the draft discussed by the federal government on 24 January] The Slovak and Czech sides can set up their own information agencies, publishing houses, and their own radio and television organizations. Laws which have rendered this impossible are being abolished. The federation, too, is permitted to establish its own television and radio. In the days to come, after the law is passed, there will have to be a certain redistribution of property, buildings, and staff in favor of Czech Television and Slovak Television. This will not be an easy problem. The problem of licenses, on the other hand, has been resolved. We now have 83 applicants for nonstate radio broadcasting and 51 applicants for nonstate television broadcasting. Until now the federal commission has only kept track of these applications and maintained communication with the applicants, telling them that broadcasting frequencies can only be distributed after a new law on radio and television broadcasting is passed.

[VEREJNOST] Will the frequencies be distributed by the federal government?

[Miklosko] No. The republics are rightly of the opinion that when someone wants to broadcast in Slovakia, the decision must be made by the Slovak government and the same applies analogously to the Czech Republic. The first compromise concerned statewide [celoplosne] broadcasts. In this case the license will be issued by the federal government on the basis of an agreement with the republics.

Czechoslovak Television and Czechoslovak Radio, too, have a right to exist, like many other television and radio companies that will operate here. The nature of their activity, the limitations to which they will be subjected, and their financing will be decided by a different law. At the meeting in Brno we agreed that they would focus on news and current affairs programs, defense issues, and foreign affairs. Yet the powers of the federation are substantially wider than this. We would like to enforce the principle that their contents should comprise everything that forms part of what the federation deals with.

[VEREJNOST] What else will this law on radio and television broadcasting concern?

[Miklosko] The already fifth version of the law on radio and television broadcasting has been drafted. After the incorporation of the changes suggested above, it will have its sixth version, which I hope will be the last one. It will concern things such as the definition of a broadcast, who is entitled to broadcast, who can acquire a broadcasting license, what the licensing procedure is, what the rights of listeners and journalists are, etc.

[VEREJNOST] When do you expect this law to be passed?

[Miklosko] The law on division of powers [in the sphere of the press and other information media] was sent to the Federal Assembly last week, immediately after the [24 January] government session. The law on radio and television broadcasting could be discussed in the federal government within two to three weeks. [passage omitted]

Czech Government Will Not React to Ultimatums

LD0302202691 Prague CTK in English 1553 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 3 (CTK)—Czech Prime Minister Petr Pithart said here today that the "government will state it clearly at the next session of the Czech National Council (Parliament) that it will not subordinate to any ultimatums and demagogic pressure."

He said it in a regular television program "What Happened Last Week," referring to the talks of the Czech Government at Lnare, South Bohemia, and to last weekend's demonstrations in Moravia and Silesia with banners on the exploitation of Moravia.

"All react to one important feature of the totalitarian regime—centralism. We must reject this logic and we prove it clearly on concrete figures," Pithart said.

He went on to say that at Lnare the Czech Government defined its stand on Czechoslovakia's setup which has been evident from the very beginning. He further defined the powers of the federal and the Czech parliaments and the Czech Government.

Deputy Interviewed on Czech Government Meeting

LD0302155591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1300 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Zdenek Malik, deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, gave an interview to a Czechoslovak Press Agency [CTK] reporter about a working session of the Czech Government, which took place at Lnare, in which some deputies and experts discussed a possible territorial setup of the Czech Republic.

According to him, the main task of the deliberations was to reduce the number of variants of the territorial setup to one, or at most to two, on which work on the new constitution will be based, and also to formulate the government's statement which is to be delivered by Prime Minister Petr Pithart in the Czech National Council on Wednesday.

As Zdenek Malik went on to say, all the participants in the session took the view that the ideal constitutional and territorial setup would be a federal state which, to function, should consist of three [German-style] lands.

Nevertheless, a view taken by Deputy Chairman Jan Kalvoda, who also participated in the session, contradicts this as he believes that the federation will survive in its existing form. He stressed that efforts to achieve the independence of Moravia constitute an irrational phenomenon which involves impractical interventions in the political and state apparatus.

Registration of Civic Forum Members Approved

AU0302170691 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Jan 91 p 2

[CTK report: "All You Have To Do Is Fill Out a Form"]

[Text] Prague—At its session yesterday, the Civic Forum [OF] Council approved an organizational suggestion for transforming the OF into a political party. The fundamental idea behind the organizational suggestion—intended for local OFs—is the preliminary registration of members. This will proceed from OF articles. The Council will request all local OFs to implement preliminary registration. Those interested in registering will fill out a simple form containing their name, address, identification number, and agreement with the documents adopted by the OF. The applicant will have to declare that he was not an employee of or collaborator with the StB [State Security] and that he was not in the People's Militia. Information is also necessary on whether the applicant was a member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and, if so, when. Only OF supporters or members registered with their local OF may participate in the OF's work.

Civic Forum Liberal Club Seeks Broad Spectrum

LD0102174891 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1000 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] The Civic Forum [OF] Liberal Club is backing all those who wish to preserve a broad political spectrum of the OF. This ensues from the standpoint adopted at a last night's Liberal Club meeting in Prague. It goes on to say that the point is that political parties should evolve in a natural way and without hampering the work of elected bodies by their development for this would devalue the results of the elections. So, if there is to be a division of the OF, it must happen while valid statutes are observed. The Liberal Club further demands that the OF should focus its entire efforts at the work in the parliaments, in the government and administration offices, and at implementing the steps of the reform. In keeping with the pledge made by OF to its voters, it targets its efforts at presevering a joint OF Club both in the Federal Assembly and in the Czech National Council.

Slovak Prime Minister Meciar Returns From FRG

LD0202044791 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Bratislava, Feb 1 (CTK)—Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and his entourage today returned from a four-day visit to Germany.

At the end of the visit Slovak Minister for External Relations Milan Knazko said that during the talks held in Bavaria, Lower Saxony and Bonn positive results were achieved both from the political and economic viewpoints.

New Head of VPN Group in Federal Assembly

AU0102134591 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 31 Jan 91 p 2

[Text] Milan Sutovec, chairman of the Federal Assembly Chamber of Nations, has become new chairman of the Club of Deputies of the Public Against Violence movement in the Federal Assembly.

Strong Communist Showing in Slovak Elections

AU0302151391 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Jan 91 p 6

[Marta Durkovska article: "Second, But Not the Last Round"]

[Excerpts] The register of voters for the second-round local elections [held in 31 districts of Slovakia on 19 January] contained the names of 43,208 eligible voters. The electoral commissions issued 30,315 envelopes with the names of candidates, of which 30,266, or 99.84 percent, were delivered to citizens. According to information from the Slovak Electoral Commission, the elections were to be held in 158 communities of the Slovak Republic. In 15 of them, however, no lists of candidates for the posts of mayor or deputies were presented. [passage omitted]

The largest number of votes, 31.77 percent, was cast for candidates of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH]. Of the 144 candidates for the post of deputy fielded by the KDH, 115 were elected. Communists placed second, with 20.72 percent of votes. Only 3 out of the 78 Communist candidates presented failed to gain the trust of their fellow citizens. Independent candidates finished third, with 12.99 percent of the vote. Of the 91 independent candidates registered, voters selected 47.

Representatives of the Public Against Violence movement [VPN] finished only fourth, with 12.71 percent. The number of deputies for the VPN increased in these elections by 46, while the number of VPN candidates totaled 76. [passage omitted]

Regarding the filling of mayoral seats, the largest number of them, 27.78 percent, will be occupied by Communists. Out of the 39 Communist candidates for the post of mayor, 30 were elected, joining the 660 Communist mayors elected in the [first-round] November elections. Independent candidates also scored partial success, winning 21.3 percent of mayoral seats. Of the 44 independent mayoral candidates, 23 won the voters' trust. The KDH finished third, with 18.52 percent of mayoral seats. Of the 26 citizens who ran for the post of mayor on behalf of the KDH, only 20 were elected. The VPN finished fourth, just as in the election of deputies, winning 11.11 percent of mayoral seats. Of the 17 registered VPN candidates, only 11 were elected.

It needs to be added that the above ranking was significantly influenced by the circumstance that in at least 50 percent of Slovak communities [in which second-round elections were held on 19 January], the submitted lists of candidates faced virtually no opposition candidates. In other words, one, unfortunately, did not have any choice. [passage omitted]

Holcik Outlines Czech-Slovak Oil Dispute

AU0302180891 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 30 Jan 91 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik by Stanislav Tomanek; place and date not given: "A Competition for Hundreds of Millions From Oil"; first paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] It seems that officials from the Federal Economy Ministry have centralist practices programmed into their genes. This was also confirmed by Monday's [28 January] working meeting between Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik and Czech Industry Minister Jan Vrba, which was attended by representatives from the aforementioned federal ministry. The issue of founding a stockholding company to transport oil to the CSFR was on the meeting's agenda. What our partners from the Czech ministry agreed to a month ago is no longer valid. Slovak Industry Minister Jan Holcik has given us an interview on the source of the problem.

[Holcik] The first round of talks was held in Bratislava on 11 December 1990. We agreed on principles for founding a nationwide stockholding company called Transpetrol, on dividing property from the Benzina Praha state enterprise, on establishing an administrative board and a supervisory board, and on adopting other legislative measures. In January the Czech Industry Ministry began to have doubts about this agreement and it was revoked by the Czech Republic. What was the problem? We agreed that the stockholding company would be based in Bratislava and, at the same time, we proceeded from the premise that the Slovak side would have the largest stake in the company's capital, 73.4 percent as opposed to the Czech Republic's 26.6 percent. This was also a prerequisite for the establishment of the administrative board on which there was supposed to have been a ratio of 8:3 in representation. The Czech Republic disagreed with this and suggested that it should be the other way around.

[Tomanek] What impact will this disagreement have? For instance, as of 1 January 1991 the tariff on oil purchases—in which the Benzina state enterprise operated by the Czech Industry Ministry has a monopoly—has been in effect. This tax is 6,100 korunas [Kcs] per tonne. It is necessary to add a surcharge of Kcs100 to this.

[Holcik] Slovaks pay the same Kcs100 for the transportation of oil to Vojan (roughly 9 kilometers) as to Bratislava or Litvinov (the distance from there is approximately 600 kilometers). If we take into consideration the fact that in the Slovak Republic the cost of keeping the pumps cool is four times higher than in the Czech Republic and that electricity costs are greater by 120 gigawatt hours (the output for the transportation pumps), then we are clearly at a disadvantage. So, we in fact pay Kcs209 million per annum to guarantee the transportation of 13 million tonnes of oil, which is the technological minimum. Slovnaft Bratislava pays this money to Benzina Praha which, understandably, diverts it into its account.

We categorically disagree with this, and we will have to take steps toward establishing our own Slovak stockholding company called Transoil that will guarantee the transportation of oil to Slovak territory. We will act in a market manner in a market environment—like good businessmen—and we will also guarantee these services to the Czech Republic. We absolutely reject Prague centralism, which is again dictating a discriminatory price to the Slovak side. I think there will now be negotiations involving representatives from the Czech and Slovak governments, along with the participation of the governments' economic deputy ministers, to try and conclude such an agreement. It would be a pity if, by complicating a clear cut issue, we were to get ourselves into a tense situation. This is an old proble, and it should have been dealt with seriously a long time ago.

[Tomanek] The facts speak convincingly for themselves. We believe that the federal participants in the dispute—which should not exist—will recognize this and will react accordingly.

Calfa Addresses VPN Meeting in Presov

LD0202175591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Federal Prime Minister Marian Calfa, addressing a Public Against Violence [VPN] meeting in Presov today, pointed out that following the political measures, we now have to face economic ones. He also emphasized that VPN has to carry through its original aims, and this calls for a disciplined and united political movement, underpinned by consolidated regional organizations. Marian Calfa also referred to cooperation with its coalition partners, which are increasingly seeking to create advantageous starting positions for the new parliamentary elections rather than longer-term social benefits.

The participants at today's meeting also noted that the VPN movement in Presov needs to win firmer public support, overcome the period of mutual mistrust, and pool its efforts to push through the economic reform. They also pointed out that the election campaign is underestimated, and many voters have been lost.

Democratic Party Criticizes Division Attempts

LD0402001691 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] After two days of intensive discussions, the third enlarged session of the executive committee of the Democratic Party ended in Zilina today. The final communique contains remarks critical of the activity of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the negative presentation of Slovakia abroad. In it the committee condemns attempts to divide Slovakia, which some proposals of a constitutional establishment of the Czechoslovak Federative Republic contain. The committee confirmed the standpoint of the leadership of the Democratic Party on screening, proposing that all their political representatives should be screened. They voiced fundamental disagreement with the proposal to widen the powers of the president and his apparatus. They consider the most serious shortcoming of the democratic, political, and economic development to be the activity and influence of former communists, in particular in state bodies and the economic sphere.

New Soldiers' Organization Registered in Slovakia

AU0102134791 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 30 Jan 91 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Briefly" column]

[Text] Bringing together all soldiers who consider Slovakia their home regardless of individual work assignment, function, rank, profession, and religious belief is the aim of the Association of Slovak Soldiers [Asociacia Slovenskych Vojakov], a special interest public organization that has been registered with the Ministry of Interior of the Slovak Republic a few days ago.

Silesians, Moravians Seek Separate Republic

LD0102200491 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Deputies of all the political parties and movements elected in Moravia and Silesia have met in Brno to discuss a new territorial set-up in the Czech Republic. Our correspondent Jaroslav Rektor phoned in this report:

[Rektor] The resolution passed by a majority 39 votes of the 52 deputies present has four points.

In the first point, the participants of today's session at the Brno City Hall propose that the Czech Government work out a constitutional variant for a federal [spolkovy] republic, in other words variant four. That variant envisages changing the current bifederation into a trifederation consisting of the Czech Republic, the Moravian-Silesian Republic, and the Slovak Republic.

The resolution goes on to demand that this variant be promptly assimilated into the process of drafting the constitutions.

In the third point, the deputies propose that a law on the territorial set-up be enacted for a transitional period, that is until the new constitutions are passed. The relevant bill will be jointly submitted by deputies of the political parties and movements of Moravia and Silesia. Once this law is passed, the corresponding territorial bodies will immediately begin to function.

The resolution winds up with the Czech National Council deputies recommending that a commission be set up to draft a Moravian-Silesian constitution. This commission would consist of representatives of all the political parties and movements in Moravia and Silesia.

Calfa Cited on Moravia, Silesia 'Problem'

LD0202060391 Prague CTK in English 2117 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Prague Feb 1 (CTK)—"Moravia and Silesia have so many important regional differences that they (the differences) deserve to be reflected in a form of the territorial setup within the Czechoslovak federation", said Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa in his regular address on television here tonight.

Speaking about the problem of Moravia and Silesia he did not agree with the idea of creating a tripartite federation. He proposed a discussion on this problem in the Czech as well as in the Slovak Republic as, in his opinion, the problem of Moravia and Silesia is the question of the whole Czechoslovak federation.

SFRY Arms Affair Continues To Cause Reactions

Jeszenszky Interviewed on Allegations

LD0102194891 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Miklos Martin Kovacs; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Kovacs] The Hungarians of Vojvodina, as they are signaling, have gotten into an extraordinarily difficult situation, a situation unprecedented since 1942, as a result of an attempt in Yugoslavia to demonstrate in a documentary that Hungary, if you please, is inciting the separatist attempts of the Croatian separatists, both by arms deliveries and by political means. What does this report mean to you as minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian Republic?

[Jeszenszky] For me, the warning, if you like, contained in the interview with Andras Agoston, one of the leaders of the Democratic Community of the Hungarians of Vojvodina, is extremely important. Well, in Yugoslavia the danger is not separatism; what is at issue here is that the nations of Yugoslavia want to make self-determination [onrendelkezes] prevail—if possible, while mantaining Yugoslav unity; furthermore, they have made it prevail. Under no circumstances can this in any way be linked with Hungary—with Hungarian policy or any kind of Hungarian measure.

[Kovacs] Does it mean that you do not consider the documentary—and I put the word documentary in quotation marks—that was shown in Yugoslavia about Hungarian arms deliveries and, in general, about Hungarian actions to be authentic?

[Jeszenszky] Well, I have not seen this film, nor do I know what Hungarian television has shown of it. I learned from the press about the extraordinarily suspicious circumstances relating to this so-called documentary, which in no way match the facts. Secret visits to Hungary by Croatian ministers, the delivery, possibly the smuggling, of arms—I do not know how many or what kind—during the night or in any other way—well, these are complete figments of the imagination. This is also the reason why the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a protest note to the Yugoslav Government on 25 January, the same evening this report was put out by the television in Belgrade.

In light of these events, the Hungarian Government has itself ordered an investigation and we shall inform the public of the results of this investigation. At the same time I would like to emphasize something else in connection with this affair. Hungary's policy vis-a-vis Yugoslavia has not changed in any way in recent days, nor in recent weeks or even in recent months.

Communique Issued on Arms Sales

LD0202085191 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] The Hungarian Government has issued a communique on arms sold to Yugoslavia. According to this, the investigation has established that among the arm sales vouchers of a Hungarian foreign trade enterprise there is an item dated last October according to which the firm delivered submachineguns to Yugoslavia at the order of a third country. Owing to its size the deal cannot be regarded as significant.

The communique stresses that the Hungarian Government continues to try to maintain good relations with Yugoslavia and would consider it regrettable if relations worsened between the two countries due to the affair.

Government Statement on Arms Deliveries

LD0202133391 Budapest MTI in English 1224 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—The prime minister's office has asked the Hungarian News Agency MTI to publish the following government statement:

On the basis of film excerpts presented by Hungarian Television from footage on Yugoslav Television, the Hungarian Government has ordered that an investigation be launched. The following can thus be stated:

Similarly to the previous years, weapons deliveries were regular between Hungary and Yugoslavia, partly on orders from the Yugoslav Federal Government, partly with a transit nature, to third countries. The weapons sales documents of one of the Hungarian foreign trade companies licenced for such deals includes an item dated from October, 1990. According to this, the firm delivered machine guns to Yugoslavia, on order from a commercial company of a third country. The deal cannot be considered a major consignment, in view of the character of the weapons (hand weapons that can alike be used for military or police aims), and the small volume of the delivery. Incidentally, the delivery took place under the conditions customary in international weapons trade, which bans the delivery of weapons explicitly and only to war and civil war-torn zones.

From December, 1990, the Hungarian Government introduced major restrictions and a strict permitting system in Hungarian weapons trade, in view of the tense situation that had come about in the Gulf region.

The policiy of the Hungarian Government towards Yugoslavia and the member republics has not changed. Hungary invariably strives for good neighbourly relations, and would hold it regrettable were the relations between the peoples of Yugoslavia and Hungary to deteriorate because of the tendentious presentation of a customary trade deal.

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The Foreign Ministry has issued a political statement, on behalf of the government, about issues concerning the relation between the two countries.

In the past days, the decision of the Yugoslav State Presidency on disarming the so-called para-military organizations, and the implementation of this decision, has led to tension in Yugoslavia. In this context, accusations and criticism have come to light against the Republic of Hungary. Thus the Hungarian Government holds it necessary to publish the following:

Starting from the generally approved principles and standards of relations between the states, and the fact of neighbourliness, the Republic of Hungary strives for a reciprocally advantageous, lasting and good relation with the friendly Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It highly appreciates the results attained to date in all areas of cooperation, and is interested in their continuous expansion, both through relations maintained with the federal organs, and with the republics of Yugoslavia. The Hungarian Government will do everything possible to profitably utilize the new possibilities emerging in the two countries in the wake of the ongoing democratic changes, in bilateral relations.

In its relations with Yugoslavia, the Republic of Hungary starts out from the fact that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is the federative union of several nations, whose integrity it respects. Yugoslavia's borders are guaranteed by valid international documents, its statehood is part of the European status quo, on which rests the continent's peace, security and cooperation.

The Republic of Hungary does not wish to interfere in solving the internal problems of Yugoslavia. It respects the right of the nations and national minorities of Yugoslavia to independently decide about their internal relations through a peaceful agreement, without external intervention.

On this occasion, too, the Hungarian Government holds it necessary to stress that the existence of the Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia, and the Croat, Serbian and Slovene minority in Hungary are important elements of Hungarian-Yugoslav relations. Confidence shown them, the safeguarding and development of their minority existence, language and culture are important preconditions for them to be able to fulfil the significant role of a link between our countries.

At the same time, the Government of the Republic of Hungary announces it had ordered an investigation into the matter of the so-called weapons deliveries, to ascertain the full truth, and to close the matter in a reassuring manner as soon as possible. It has made public the results of the investigation, and will inform the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia through diplomatic channels.

SFRY Press Reaction Noted

LD0202143291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Gyoergy Valko report]

[Text] The Hungarian stand on the arms sales scandal has been followed with great interest in Yugoslavia. The government spokesman's statement was broadcast by radio and television in a factual way. BORBA also published a short commentary on this, establishing that yesterday's statement was the government's first corporative stand regarding the issue. This stand, in contrast with the ones made so far, is already implicating that an investigation will be launched under certain conditions, and those who are possibly guilty will be provided. BORBA also points out that the statements up to this point had either stressed the lack of competence of the Hungarian Government or simply rejected that Hungarian organizations might have played any role in the armament of illegal semimilitary organizations. The Yugolsav press has not reacted to the Jeszenszky interview yet. The statement regarding deliveries to a third country has not been commented upon in Belgrade, either. From the Yugoslav side, the firm opinion is that the arms from Hungary were delivered straight from the Croat semi-military organs. The Belgrade television documentary and the special edition of NARODNA ARMIJA are of the same approach.

Jeszenszky Queried on Arms Sales to Croatia

LD0202222691 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Tamas Frei on 2 February; place not given; on the "168 Hours" program—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Frei] Mr. Jeszenszky, you seem to contradict yourself over the issue of arms sales to Croatia. Even yesterday you described as a figment of the imagination that which your own government admitted a few hours later in a statement—that there had been arms deliveries through Hungary to Croatia, i.e., into a third country. It was not Hungarian arms that were involved, but arms from a third country delivered to Croatia through Hungary. These two stands contradict each other. How do you assess this?

[Jeszenszky] I do not sense any contradiction. Indeed, I was questioned in very impromptu circumstances yesterday afternoon, in the middle of a reception or conversation, and I referred to the fact that those circumstances that were shown in the domestic television program—in which there were scenes fitting a crime thriller, with ministers crossing the border by night, travelling illegally, and opening Hungarian arms depots. These, I can say with full responsibility, in the knowledge of the facts, as far as these may be known, that these are indeed figments of imagination. [passage omitted] The fact that a concrete quantum of arms got into Croatia last October has become apparent since... [changes thought] it is a fact, our statement contains it.

[Frei] The question is: What is that third country...whose arms were delivered to Croatia through Hungary?

[Jeszenszky] You are not approaching the statement correctly, because it contains...[changes thought] there are two things here. [passage omitted]

[Frei] The statement says that there is an item dated October 1990 according to which "T"—this I think is the Tehnika foreign trade enterprise....

[Jeszenszky, interrupting] Yes....

[Frei continues]...At the order of a trading enterprise of a third country, had delivered machine pistols to Yugoslavia. The question is: Which is this third country?

[Jeszenszky] In other words, the ordering country. This is a commercial...[changes thought] This, I feel, has no significance. I am not a foreign trader; therefore, this firm could belong to Honduras, Panama, or any other, I could even mention any of the great powers, too.

[Frei] Is it true that this firm is a Liechtenstein one?

[Jeszenszky] I cannot answer this. I do not deal with such questions. [passage omitted]

[Frei] The film with the accusation was shown last Friday on Yugoslav Television. Today is Saturday, your statement was published last night, a week after the showing of the film. Why did you need a week to answer? [passage omitted]

[Jeszenszky] It would be good if every affair in Hungary could be closed. I am sure that had there been a ready, precise answer available, it would have been better.

[Frei] This morning, the Yugoslav ambassador was here—we will speak about this later—but even before him the U.S. ambassador came here, visited you, and then together you went to Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. If I may ask, how does the United States enter into the picture?

[Jeszenszky] The United States enters the picture in more than one respect. I can state with a clear conscience that Yugoslavia and the arms delivery is not the only subject at such a meeting....

[Frei, interrupting] But it was raised.

[Jeszenszky] It was raised, of course. The United States is anxious, as is well known, over all the things that have happened in Yugoslavia.

[Frei] Was the question raised that perhaps these arms were to go in another direction? Did the United States not worry about this? I have in mind that in the Foreign Minisry statement there is a sentence stating that in December 1990 the Hungarian Government decided that because of the tense situation in the Gulf region it would introduce arms exports limitations, and that a strict licensing regime (?exists)?

[Jeszenszky] There is complete trust between the United States and the Hungarian Government, and there is cooperation in the Gulf region not only in connection with the Hungarian contingent, but in respect of obeying the embargo. Thus, in December, the government made the decision to stiffen its compliance precisely because it understood the importance of the embargo, and not because of a U.S. suggestion or advice.

[Frei] What is the reason for this delay—if it can be called a delay—of a good few months after the embargo was decided; in other words, after the imposition of the UN embargo? In other words, why not straight away?

[Jeszenszky] We joined the embargo, and the fact that in December we passed a formal decree, or took formal measures, that does not mean we did not ascribe any significance to it earlier.

[Frei] December is significant only because the whole Croatian arms affiar took place in October.

[Jeszenszky] The fact that a war broke out in the Gulf, or that the possibility existed of it becoming dangerous, became really seious in December. Therefore, [words indistinct] linking it to a deadline, linking it to a [words indistinct] and really the question came up, not specifically about Hungary, but in many countries of the world, that Iraq might try to get around the embargo. In Hungarian-U.S. relations, however, let us say, it never came up in these terms, that there (?were doubts) as to whether Hungary was observing it, or that Hungary might not be a cooperative partner (?to the world embargo) to the maximum degree.

[Frei] That is clear. I only want to ask whether in that case the U.S. ambassador did not link this Croatian arms deal and arms supplies to the Gulf region, if I can put it like that?

[Jeszenszky] Well, I do not know what passed through his mind, but I can say with responsibility that no such connection was made at our discussions.

[Frei] [Passage omitted] It has emerged that Jozsef Antall is keeping the threads fairly well in hand. After the departure of the Yugoslav ambassador, he had several discussions with you. He called you on the telephone. You were with Jozsef Antall yesterday for over an hour. Bogar, state secretary for international economic relations, also conferred with you. [passage omitted] This issue was raised yesterday in the Foreign Ministry, at the ministerial conference you gave. Were any names given as to who is responsible?

[Jeszenszky] No names were given.

[Frei] Was it mentioned that perhaps somebody, if I may say so, would have to be sacrificed?

[Jeszenszky] I do not consider it at all right in any situation whatever that we should look for sacrificial lambs. This is, unfortunately....

[Frei, interrupting] It is not a question of lambs, but of who is responsible. In other words, if the government says it did not know about it, then who are those people who could have known, who were involved?

[Jeszenszky] As far as I know—and I stress that I am minister of foreign affairs and responsible for the country's foreign policy, along with others; in other words, I have neither the competence nor, if you like, the professional knowledge in certain economic issues...[pauses] but as I see it, what took place here was a regular commercial deal. I do not know if any kind of irregularity might be seen or could be found.

[Frei] Does the Yugoslav ambassador see it in exactly the same light? He was here with you about an hour ago, and as it was said afterward, he handed you a fairly sharply worded note. Does Yugoslavia see it in just the same way?

[Jeszenszky] Well, I learn from you that this is a sharply worded note.

[Frei] Well then, what was it that the Yugoslav ambassador handed over?

[Jeszenszky] He read a message that, because he received it in Serbian, he translated into Hungarian in an improvised manner, off the cuff.

[Frei] What did it contain?

[Jeszenszky] The message expressed Yugoslavia's concern [aggodalom], and said it is important that a stop be put to this matter as soon as possible.

[Frei] I said sharply worded only because one of your staff members, expressing his private opinion, said that perhaps the last time there was such a sharply worded Yugoslav statement to Hungary was in 1971, when the Hungarian Foreign Minisry received a statement saying that Hungary was allegedly organizing an illegal meeting for the anti-Tito communists. There has been no such a thing since then, in other words for almost 20 years now. So, was this evaluation of the affair a wrong private opinion?

[Jeszenszky] I believe it would be expedient not to pry into this. I will tell you why. As a matter of fact, this staff member of mine, who speaks excellent Hungarian, is of Macedonian origin. He grew up here. So, in a certain respect, his use of the language is not...[pauses] I feel that sometimes it can be felt that Hungarian is not his mother tongue.

[Frei] Government spokesman Balazs Laszlo said this morning that in essence these stances—in other words, those that are on our table here—the stances of the Foreign Ministry and the government are essentially final stances. With this the Hungarian Government would like the affair to be closed. This is so, is it not?

[Jeszenszky] That is so. Hungary's interest is that there should be peace in its neighborhood, and as we also said in our statement, Hungary does not wish to interfere in settling Yugoslavia's internal problems. It respects the right of Yugoslavia's nationalities and national minorities to decide their domestic relations independently, by way of peaceful agreement, without outside intervention.

Foreign Minister on Arms Sales to Croatia

LD0202191791 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified reporter; place and date not given; on the "Newsreel" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Jeszenszky] Last October it was not the Hungarian Government that concluded some kind of arms deal. The Hungarian Government made no such decision, either in October or later. In Yugoslavia, in October, there was not then an internal situation that could be described as serious, but even so, we would not have wanted to interfere with the internal affairs of Yugoslavia, just as we do not want to interfere now, either.

What took place was the sale of small arms—sought by a third country—a relatively small quantity, which was not suitable for warfare but for maintenance of order. It is not our business as to how the trade, the import of arms, is regulated within Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] What kind of ulterior motives and consequences do you see?

[Jeszenszky] One cannot escape from the thought that this may be linked, from this point of view, to an intensifying domestic political crisis. From a foreign policy point of view, however, it is, under any circumstances, regretful. Furthermore, if one endeavors, if one looks at it from the point of view that domestic political peace is in the interest of everybody, then it is unfortunate from that point of view, too.

MSZP Debates Party Stand on Gulf Crisis

LD0202234691 Budapest MTI in English 1948 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 2 (MTI)—In the Saturday national activists' meeting of the Hungarian Socialist Party (HSP) [MSZP], the debate focussed, among other topics, on the position the party should take on the Gulf crisis. The contributors stressed that it was difficult to hold a political debate on a resolution qualified by parliament as a state secret. (The resolution passed at a closed session referred to sending a Hungarian military medical team to the Gulf.)

The Socialists would support if [as received] an MP read out the resolution at a plenary session, Andras Toth, HSP executive said. This deputy could not be called to account since, as the chief public prosecutor of Budapest put it earlier, the law on the legal status of MPS stipulates that a deputy can only be called to account for his defamatory statements.

Concerning the Gulf war, no one doubted that the occupation of Kuwait should be condemned and Saddam Husayn halted. For this reason, the participants supported the resolution of the UN Security Council. The contributors, opinions varied as to the HSP's position on war and peace, the international realities, the recent international political changes, and the long-term conclusions to be drawn from them.

Independent Missile Unit Disbands 1 Feb

LD0102233691 Budapest MTI in English 1910 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Budapest, February 1 (MTI)—The 5th Independent Missile Unit of Tapolca was disbanded on Friday, by order of the minister of defence, as missile deployments are being discontinued in the Hungarian Army as of February 1. The technology will be withdrawn from the Army, and will shortly either be sold-off or destroyed.

Lieutenant General Laszlo Borsits, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army, said at the disbanding ceremony that long-range missiles were deployed in Hungary in the 1960's because the country's party and state leadership of the time believed that a serious external danger was threatening the European socialist countries, including Hungary.

"One should see that we were part of a military bloc, and the threat was not aimed against our country, but against the coalition," Borsits said. He then noted the Republic of Hungary does not have political aims which should be attained through military force, and that Hungary rejects war, and strives to prevent and avoid it. Defence is a basic element of its military policy, which implies setting up a smaller and more effective national army. Attack orientated weapons, which include missile technology, that generate mistrust will be replaced by conventional means that serve defence.

Official Details Dismantling

LD0202233291 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Interview with (Mihaly Boti), deputy secretary of the Defense Ministry, by Gyula Horvath; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] As of 1 February the Defense Ministry has dismantled the last Hungarian missile unit [raketaegyseg]. With this, Hungary is the first in the Warsaw Pact to begin the destruction [megsemmisites] of her offensive weapons and the creation of conventional defensive units.

[Horvath] Twenty-five offensive weapons are being dismantled. Moreover, [they include] medium-range surface-to-surface missiles also suitable for targeting nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

[(Boti)] One of the missiles is the prototype [alaptipus] of what I can describe as the notorious Scud-type [missile], about which we now hear a great deal in connection with the Gulf war. This is a weapon with a maximum targeting range of 300 kilometers. Another type is a smaller missile that can be deployed up to a firing range of some 70 kilometers. These missiles will be taken apart, and, in the technical sense of the word, destroyed [megsemmisit].

[Horvath] Does this mean that there will not be any surface-to-surface offensive missiles in Hungary then?

[(Boti)] If you please, there will not remain any guided missile weapon belonging to this category in the Army's weapons system with which one can fire with on-the-spot accuracy. Naturally, I cannot promise that there will never be, not even in the future, any missile—this type, this category of missile weapon—in the system of the Hungarian Army. What I can say without any doubt is that the Hungarian Republic will not systematize missiles for carrying warheads capable of mass destruction. This is simply irreconcilable with our defense concept.

Walesa Prepared To Go to Iraq on Peace Mission

LD0202224291 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] President Lech Walesa, in an interview given to the Italian Catholic weekly SABATO, has declared that he is ready to go to Baghdad on a peace mission.

Rally Expresses Solidarity With Israel

LD0302181891 Warsaw PAP in English 1602 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 3—A rally expressing Poles' solidarity with Israeli society threatened with the Iraqi aggression was organized here today under the motto "Peace and Safety for Israel" by the Polish-Israeli Friendship Society and the Coordinating Commission of Jewish Organizations and Institutions in Poland.

"We equally feel sympathy for Arabs from Kuwait who first fell victim to the Iraqi invasion and for Jews from Israel, exposed to missile attacks and threatened with the attack of chemical and biological weapons," Under Secretary of state at the Presidential Chancellery Jacek Maziarski said during the rally.

"The Polish response to the tragedy taking place in Middle East has moral and not political background. This tragedy has become an important test of Poles' real attitude towards Jews and their state. Despite various allegations Polish society has displayed spontaneous friendliness and solidarity with the threatened Israeli nation," he added.

Ministry Statement on Soviet Convoy Crossing

LD0202193191 Warsaw PAP in English 1856 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 2—The spokesman for the Polish Foreign Ministry issued today a statement on a convoy of military vehicles waiting at the Polish-German border for permission to go via Poland to the Soviet Union. The document reads in part:

Recently, a convoy of 200 lorries and other military vehicles of the former GDR Army, a gift from the Bundeswehr for the Soviet Orthodox Church, have approached the Polish-German border. We were told that the vehicles carried a shipment being also a gift.

The vehicles had not licence plates, were not insured or signed. They were driven by Soviet uniformed soldiers without proper driving licences. Furthermore, armed Soviet soldiers were inside the lorries.

In the face of those facts, the Polish side cannot give the convoy permission to enter Poland until the organizers fulfil certain requirements concerning security and traffic regulations.

The Polish stance met with full understanding on the part of German officials what was reflected by yesterday's statement of the press spokesman for the German Foreign Ministry. The Polish side hopes the matter will be soon settled in accordance with the law and international regulations.

CSFR Rejects Talks on Soviet Troop Transit

LD0102231991 Warsaw PAP in English 1913 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—The Polish Foreign Ministry has been informed by the Czechoslovak Embassy in Warsaw that Czechoslovakia will not start any talks on the transit of Soviet troops via its territory before agreements on the withdrawal and transit of Soviet units are signed by Poland and the Soviet Union and before Soviet troops stationed in Czechoslovakia completely pull out from the Czechoslovak territory, the Polish Foreign Ministry said in its communique.

Walesa Calls For Defense Doctrine 'Modification'

LD0102140391 Warsaw PAP in English 1107 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—President Lech Walesa presented his vision of Poland's sovereignty in an interview for the Polish Army's daily "POLSKA ZBROJNA", putting emphasis on the bonds linking the nation and the Army, sense of national identity and attachment to national tradition. He said i.a.:

On Lithuania: "Wherever Poles are living they should be able to avail themselves of the human rights declaration. I will be striving for that.

"As far as Lithuania, as well as other nations striving for their independence are concerned, particularly those in Europe, it should be said the problem of freedom results from civilizational development. The price and the time needed to gain this freedom are an open matter, but I have not a slightest doubt whatsoever that a number of victories will shortly come.

"The Lithuanians have got a full right to choose their own path. We, Poles, can support them in a solidary manner—like all the others who are fighting for their just rights."

On the restoration of the Army to the nation: "The restoration of the Army to the nation is an important and complex task to fulfil. The to date brutal politicization is being replaced by education which is based on ethical values, mutual respect and unbiased history."

Further on Lech Walesa refuted the charge that Poland had no defence doctrine. "Such a doctrine was worked out a year ago but now it calls for modification," he said, adding that a council of national security should be called into being to keep on updating the defence doctrine. Lech Walesa also said that Jacek Merkel, minister of state for security matters at the presidential chancellery, "is neither a super-minister nor any superior. He is the person responsible for my correct cooperation with the government and ministers, particularly the ministers for national defence and internal affairs."

Lech Walesa also said he was going "to move that a civilian minister of national defence be named in the future. There is concord as to it. Who is going to be named? It is too early to tell."

Walesa Meets Papal Nuncio, Labor Minister

LD0102225191 Warsaw PAP in English 1856 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—Polish President Lech Walesa met here today with papal nuncio in this country, Archbishop Jozef Kowalczyk to discuss his visit to the Vatican, to start on Feb. 5.

It is most understandable that in connection with the president's trip to Rome and his official visit to the Vatican one should be present here to offer him wishes of the visit's best course and results for the whole nation, the nuncio said after the meeting.

Also today Walesa received Minister of Labour and Social Policy Michal Boni. We discussed how to build social compromise and peace, give people a chance and at the same time follow economic rules, Boni stated. The point is not to allow a threat of inflation to be posed. We also mentioned trade unions, ways of conducting talks with union members, the need for dialogue and openness—an indispensable condition of all changes in Poland, he added.

We also touched upon personnel-related problems. Efforts introducing changes in Poland should be made by people who are competent, prepared and believe in their success. They should think in modern and open terms, make decisions promptly and not fear of difficult resolutions even when they suffer defeats temporarily, Boni went on to say.

In reference to excess wage tax Boni stated that the government did not take a rigid stand on the issue but had to take account of all reasons, including economic ones.

Walesa Meets Nordic Council Officials

LD0202175891 Warsaw PAP in English 1644 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 2—Polish President Lech Walesa received today a delegation of the Nordic Council with its President Pall Petursson and General Secretary Justein Osenes to discuss the cooperation in ecology between Baltic states and republics.

The visitors declared further material assistance to improve the condition of natural environment in Poland. They also spoke positively about the idea of creating a union of Baltic cities to help expand cooperation in ecology.

Today, the delegation of the Nordic Council wound up their Polish visit.

Meets Foreign Investors' Group

LD0102234991 Warsaw PAP in English 2047 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 1—Polish President Lech Walesa met in the Royal Castle here today with members of the Chamber for Industry and Commerce of Foreign Investors.

Poland is interested in including her economy in the system of Western European integration. We are gradually changing the economic laws and forming favourable conditions for investments, President Walesa said.

We have still many problems to solve, he added, but these are temporary barriers. Therefore, I appeal to you: Create a new economic reality. Those who are entering our market today, will multiply their capital tomorrow. You will see it is good business, the president stated.

Head of the chamber, Stefan Lewandowski underlined that in order to encourage a greater number of investors it is necessary to solve the problem of land ownership and to introduce such regulations on investments that would make Poland win the world competition for foreign investments.

The chamber is an independent organization grouping foreign businessmen who carry activity in Poland.

Meets Citizens' Committee Presidium

LD0202193291 Warsaw PAP in English 1754 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 2—Polish President Lech Walesa met today with the presidium of the citizens' committee to discuss the future shape and rule of the body in the face of the upcoming parliamentary elections.

Zdzislaw Najder told reporters the presidium agreed that the elections should be held in the shortest possible time and added they considered the coming May the real date for the voting. He said there was a proposal to transform the citizens' committee at Lech Walesa into a national citizens' committee. [sentence as received]

Walesa, Finance Minister Discuss Economic Issues

LD0202175991 Warsaw PAP in English 1640 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 2—Polish President Lech Walesa met today with Vice Prime Minister and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz to discuss economic issues, and mainly the excessive wage tax that has of late given rise to much controversy in Poland.

Balcerowicz also spoke about the outcome of his recent foreign trips during which he held talks on Polish debt.

Mazowiecki Favors Early Parliamentary Elections

LD0202235391 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Speaking at a news conference in Krakow, Tadeusz Mazowiecki declared himself against the creation of a political council to be attached to the president. The former prime minister, now the leader of the Democratic Union, is of the opinion that this is an attempt to create a substitute for the terms of reference of constitutional bodies.

Speaking on the situation in Poland, Tadeusz Mazowiecki stated that there is a danger of the return of hyperinflation. The leader of the Democratic Union spoke in favor of setting the earliest possible date for parliamentary elections.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki also expressed the hope that Moscow would respect the agreements made during his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev regarding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland by the end of this year.

Senate Discusses International, Domestic Issues

LD0102234791 Warsaw PAP in English 2211 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—The Polish Senate condemned the Iraqi acts of aggression against Israel and expressed hope that "the military provocations against the life and health of innocent people will not bring about results expected by the aggressor."

In a statement adopted today the Senate said that "the patience showed by Israel is the sign of its wisdom and not the lack of power" and considered this approach as deserving recognition of all people of good will.

In reference to the developments in Lithuania, Senator Zbigniew Romaszewski proposed that senators appeal to the U.N. bodies for setting up an expert team to examine the violation of human rights there.

On behalf of the Labour Solidarity group made up by deputies and senators, Jan Jozef Lipski read a statement saying that the costs of restructuring the economic system have exceeded the necessary level.

While supporting privatization, the authors of the statement said that the process should be long-lasting and the desperate attempts at speeding it up may bring about fatal results.

The group also stated that support for the restructuring of economy should stem from an institutional social accord between the government and trade unions, and accepted by the Parliament.

The Labour Solidarity opted for holding parliamentary elections at the beginning of June.

The Senate proposed several corrections to the laws on the marine sector and to the amendments to the mining law and the geological law.

Kaczynski Comments on Political Development

AU0302162091 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Jan 91 pp 1, 6

[Interview with Jaroslaw Kaczynski, minister of state, head of the Presidential Chancery, and leader of the Center Accord, by Adam Cymer; place and date not given: "The Future Belongs to Christian Democracy"]

[Excerpts] [Cymer] Observers of the Polish political scene are pointing out that despite the announcements about a time of radical change and acceleration, we are still in a transition period and the process of developing political life in Poland has just begun. So, can one answer the following question: What kind of arrangement of political forces are we heading toward as we create the Polish model of democracy?

[Kaczynski] I think that thoughts about the future must be preceded by a incisive analysis of the present day situation, and the situation is one that requires the urgent completion of two tasks. One such task is the construction of a normal economic system in Poland; normal in the sense that it at least to some extent resembles the economic systems that exist in other democratic and highly developed countries. The second pressing task is to work toward developing a form of political life that would make it possible to identify political forces and, at the same time, would create natural conditions for the integration of communities and parties around clear ideological and programmatic concepts. I think that this process may lead to a situation in which it will become possible to realize a program of acceleration and a certain breakthrough, especially a breakthrough in public awareness, which is something that the free presidential election failed to achieve. Of course, this kind of breakthrough is not to be conceived of in terms of another storming of the Bastille or some rapid turnaround in our economic situation. It is a question of breaking out of those structures for the functioning of the state with which we have lived over the last few decades and of transforming the political and social landscape. This transformation must be achieved so it is not only apparent on the macro level. The transformation must be evident to society so that it truly sees that we really are living in a new Poland, a Poland in which it is worth being personally committed and active. Without that, it is difficult to imagine the filling in of social gaps, the development of serious political structures. I think that these are urgent and very important matters: they are the main things that we, the Center Accord, will now be striving to achieve. [passage omitted]

[Cymer] Has the Center Accord initiated a process that will unite Christian Democrat groupings with the aim of forming a union or coalition of these parties, or is to be an integrated party that forms associations or cooperates with other political circles that share a similar ideological orientation?

[Kaczynski] At the moment we are resolutely endeavoring to create a united party. We are stressing integration because we have to be effective, efficient, especially in the regions, in the voivodships, and even in the smallest communities where the size of our party will permit the creation of organizational units at the lowest level. At the same time, all those values that derive from the various groupings that have joined us have to be preserved. That is why we envisage that the members of the party's central governing bodies will be chosen—it is difficult to be specific about election procedures at this stage—from representatives of the circles that make up the Center Accord. We would also like to retain—by means of an appropriate statute—a certain number of places for representatives of those groupings that will join the Center Accord in the near or more distant future. Of course, the upcoming Center Accord congress will settle this and many of these detailed questions, but nevertheless that is the direction in which work on our program and statute is proceeding, at least as far as the basic structure of the organization is concerned. However, we also want to expand the range of our party activities—and our influence, especially in local communities—by developing the basic structure through various institutions, groups dealing with specific tasks, discussion clubs, and youth organizations or groups that will concentrate more on formative than political work. Tasks of this kind could also be performed by cultural associations or organizations for particular social groups, such as tradesmen. [passage omitted].

ROAD Council Holds Meeting, Elects Officials

LD0402001191 Warsaw PAP in English 2104 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 3—The chief council of the Citizens Movement-Democratic Action (ROAD) discussed the present socio-political situation in Poland here today.

The council also talked about prospects of the ROAD movement, relations with other parties, the date of parliamentary elections, and the ROAD's long-term programme.

The council elected a 15-strong executive committee which includes two initiators of the movement: Jerzy Zdrada of Krakow and Ludwika Wujec of Warsaw who became vice chairmen of the ROAD.

Center Accord 28 January Declaration Reported

AU0302160891 Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 29 Jan 91 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Center Accord Declaration—The Program of Acceleration Must Be Implemented"]

[Text] The Center Accord's Political Council adopted a declaration at its 28 January meeting. Among other things, the declaration states: "The Center Accord, which made a significant contribution to Lech Walesa's election campaign, believes it is now necessary to start implementing the promised program of acceleration and breakthrough. The Center Accord is expecting this program to be implemented by the government and the president. At the present moment, we think it is necessary to:

—Hold parliamentary elections (end May 1991 at the very latest). These elections will bring to a close the ongoing process of creating new representative structures in Poland and will enable it to enter the European political framework;

—Abandon the principle of the "dividing line," which tries to cut off the former epoch from the present, and bring the nomenklatura companies and the so-called nomenklatura to fully account for their actions;

—Initiate a rapid and large-scale privatization of state enterprises, taking the interests of the factory crews in such enterprises into account and relaxing the supply mechanisms in our economy, especially the relaxation of wage restraint mechanisms, but at the same time implementing a deflationary policy (through the application of a money-credit policy);

—Increase local government powers, strengthen its sources of finance, and liquidate the present administrative region structure;

—Change official policy toward rural areas and agriculture through an effective system of support for family farms and the creation of new jobs in rural areas;

—Reject the principle of cooperating with communist and post-communist forces, as well as any further agreements with such forces within structures that are presently being planned;

—Call for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces from Poland;

—Call for Poland's speedy withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact and CEMA structures.

The Center Accord makes its participation in the structures of the central executive authority strictly dependent on the introduction of radical systemic and personnel changes. This is the attitude we expect our representatives to take in these structures. Failure to push through these changes will absolve the Center Accord from further political responsibility for the structure of power and will force us to withdraw our members from the structures of the central executive authority.

The Center Accord is fully committed to a multiparty system as the political foundation for a democratic order, and in May 1991 it intends to change into a modern, homogeneous, and democratic party based on Christian values.

New Broadcasting Chief Sets Out Plans

PM0102153691 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 23 Jan 91 p 4

[Interview with Jan M. Owsinski, deputy chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, by J. Lutomski; place and date not given: "The Elder, Poorer Brother"]

[Text] [Lutomski] What will Polish Radio be like under your rule?

[Owsinski] I am a professional radio journalist. Consequently, I approach my new position and brief in an eminently practical way. This means that I avoid using a variety of generalizations such as: "As a public medium, radio broadcasting should be engaged in public service." These are mere declarations. I am putting my money on the professional approach. My first personnel decisions can attest to the path I have chosen. I have appointed professionals with a proven radio pedigree—and with plenty of character, to boot—as program directors.

[Lutomski] Are you going to change the present format and specialization of radio programs?

[Owsinski] All reforms of this type depend solely on our listeners. They are familiar with specific individual programs and wave bands. Therefore, I am extremely cautious based on my experience running Program IV. Generally speaking, the existing format will be preserved, except that we will move certain educational and teaching programs from Program IV to Program II. Since we have practically no rival broadcasting stations outside Warsaw, however, we must introduce a greater internal diversity in our programs.

[Lutomski] Are you suggesting that particular programs should be more sharply defined?

[Owsinski] I think they should. We should let listeners who prefer to listen to Polish pop songs or, for example, serious music lovers, know that Polish Radio runs programs in which their favorite genre will be given priority. This applies particularly to music programs. Warsaw is a good experimental pilot in this respect—and surely everyone here is aware that the FM program in effect transmits only one kind of music.

[Lutomski] Warsaw is indeed a real testing ground for radio programs. The new broadcasting stations, "S" and "Z", claim that they have the highest number of listeners...

[Owsinski] This is true. A radio station serving the public has a different range of obligations: It must give its listeners a more comprehensive menu of informational, educational, and cultural programs. We still have a lot of ground to cover regarding the news, especially in the field of prompt relay of domestic news.

There is no need to exaggerate the problem with commercial radio stations. For example, in Britain the BBC—that high-quality and widely respected radio broadcasting network—is losing the race to its commercial rivals. Incidentally, we are very happy to cite the BBC as a role model. Nevertheless, the BBC still retains its steady clientele. I will not deny that my colleagues have expressed a certain degree of concern about the predominance of commercial broadcasters, but on the whole, a situation where a monopoly is being broken denotes a healthy state of affairs.

[Lutomski] Council of Europe experts maintain that five national radio programs are too many for a country like ours.

[Owsinski] The BBC also has five programs. It is very wrong to view the program arrangement from the angle of the financial strictures of the beginning of 1991. The whole thing must be seen in a wider time framework. Programs are easy enough to get rid of, but much more difficult to reconstruct. Besides, which program should we get rid of? Perhaps the First Program, which is most popular with our audiences? Or perhaps, in the days when culture is under threat anyway, the Second Program, which caters to musical and literary tastes? Maybe the Third Program—a quality, bold, political channel spearheaded by such radio personalities as Monika Olejnik or Grzegorz Miecugow?

[Lutomski] In all probability, only the Third Program could withstand competition from commercial programs...

[Owsinski] I agree, but let us take this further. Should we do away with the Fourth Program, the one catering for educational and—most important—regional interests? Perhaps, finally, the Fifth Program—so important, especially today, to Poles abroad?

[Lutomski] I understand, then, that you will defend all the five programs of the public-service radio.

[Owsinski] I cannot put it in this way, either. I will fight for a realization of all important tasks and duties of a public-service radio service and also the provision of sufficient time on the air for the vitally important local broadcasting stations. You must remember that Polish Radio programs provide the only radio broadcasting service available to regional listeners today. A lot will depend on the quality of the new stations which are being set up now. I would describe the stations already operating in Warsaw as a cross between commercial and public service stations. This is particularly true of Radio "S", which attaches much importance to broadcasting news and current affairs programs. This is a step in the right direction. Nor do I entertain any doubt that in the long run the standard of commercial broadcasting will be set by the state network.

[Lutomski] You are most anxious to cite and follow the model provided by the BBC. However, we know that that organization combines radio and television networks, whereas here the intention is to separate them.

[Owsinski] I do not want to commit myself to unequivocal, final statements, because here again I believe that we must look beyond our current circumstances and give careful thought to long-term structural plans. There are many arguments for, and equally many against, separating radio from television. This is a perennial issue in the West, too, and many countries have adopted a variety of different solutions. The problem is compounded by the complexes which are bound to be felt by the older and poorer brother when set against his younger, wealthier and more attractive sister—television. We must, first and foremost, sort out the question of that superfluous superstructure, the Radiokomitet [originally, party-based committee for political control of radio and television].

[Lutomski] But the present union between radio and television is of a predominantly technical nature.

[Owsinski] Let me be frank with you: This question will be ultimately decided by the Sejm. That decision notwithstanding, the new leadership of Polish Radio and the recently appointed Council for Regional Broadcasting Stations will face the task of resolving the complex and difficult problems posed by our radio network and will set about making a fully professional institution of it. In my opinion, RZECZPOSPOLITA constitutes a good example of truly professional journalism. Dariusz Fikus handpicked a team of intelligent and professional people and with them created a quality paper. I want to do the same thing with the radio, since we have a relative abundance of theoreticians and visionaries, whereas it is the practical approach that counts here.

[Lutomski] On behalf of our boss, I must thank you for the compliment, but I should also like to ask you in this connection whether Polish Radio will opt for a formula similar to that chosen by our paper—that is, to put it in most general terms, the presentation of a variety of political views and directions, while leaving the choice between them to the reader himself.

[Owsinski] This goes without saying! Such a formula is badly needed by Polish people and also—contrary to appearances—by politicians. You know this old saying favored by personnel officers, "A slave does not make a good employee." Journalists should rely on their professionalism and their strength of character to keep them from becoming subservient to the exigencies of politics.

[Lutomski] What about your finances? This interview will be published on the day when the Sejm Culture and Media Commission is due to again review the radio and television budget. What is the financial situation of the radio network?

[Owsinski] The whole system of financing radio and television is extremely complex. It is virtually impossible to understand how things are priced and why. We are trying to disentangle the complexities and to simplify the whole budget, but it is bound to take a while. For the time being, I should like to point to two things which consume a great deal of money. First, it costs a great deal simply to maintain the whole network of nationwide radio programs. And this is not just a matter that concerns radio exclusively: It is a strategic question from the state's viewpoint. Second, radio is an educator, teacher, instructor, and also a sponsor of and a center for the creation of culture—the latter more or less vaguely coordinated. And these are the areas for which we want to secure subsidies. I have already appointed two teams: the first will analyze the issue of serious music in radio programs, the second—of literature. Incidentally, it is necessary to demolish a certain myth here: that of the alleged abundance of material in Polish Radio archives. They do indeed contain plentiful material, but there are still serious gaps that need to be filled. And we are not talking of just Katyn and the "blank areas" in history, but, for instance, of the issue of the complete works of the Romantics. Such large projects are bound to cost a lot of money.

Public Polled on Government Program

LD0102142191 Warsaw PAP in English 1120 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 1—The January 12-14 poll of the Public Opinion Research Centre shows that Catholic Church remains the institution of public life given the highest rating by Poles. 72 per cent of the respondents approve its work (71 per cent in the last November poll). 68 per cent of the respondents think that the Polish Army's work serves society well and promotes its interests (59 per cent last November). 64 per cent of the respondents voiced their confidence in the work of TV that was the only leading institution of Polish public life to record a small drop in approval by 3 per cent as compared with the last November poll.

The work of the Sejm is accepted by 61 per cent of the respondents and the Senate is approved by 56 per cent of the polled.

The image of the police, that gained the approval of 59 per cent of people, is clearly improving (for comparison—only 43 per cent last November).

The first public response to the work of the new government, registered only several days after its formation, turned out to be the following: 47 per cent of the respondents think that it serves society well (17 per cent were of the opposite opinion). 36 percent of the polled did not have any opinion on this question.

Over half of the respondents (55 per cent) deem the Solidarity trade union work to serve the public interest and every fifth respondent (22 per cent) is of the opposite opinion.

The work of the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance was more often disapproved (36 per cent) than approved (27 per cent).

[Warsaw PAP in English at 1153 GMT on 1 February adds in a Warsaw-datelined report: "26 per cent of the polled by the Public Opinion Research Centre January 12-14 deemed the government programme presented by Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki in the Sejm satisfactory, although said it could be better. 12 per cent of the respondents think that this is a good programme, only few (1 per cent) regard it very good or (2 percent) bad and unacceptable.

"However, 44 per cent of the polled people did not at all know assumptions of the government programme and 15 per cent had no opinion.

"74 per cent of the respondents think that the present government should continue the course of international policy of its predecessor in its entirety or with small changes. 77 per cent think that the government should reject the farm programme of the Mazowiecki cabinet or pursue the programme only after introducing major changes."]

Journalists Form Baltic Friendship Society

LD0202221191 Warsaw PAP in English 1858 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Krakow, Feb. 2—Local journalists have initiated a society of friends of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, the first such organization in Poland.

The society is now going to formulate its programme, statute, and elect its authorities.

Special Guest Status Granted at Council of Europe

AU0102164091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1309 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/2/1991—In its February 1 session, the Standing Bureau of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe granted Romania the special invited-guest status.

A press release will soon follow.

Parliament Pleased With Decision

AU0202151891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1403 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/2/1991—Romania's Parliament is pleased that Romania was given special guest status by the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, a statement issued in Bucharest says. This is an appreciation of the effort and progress of Romania toward the democratization of political life, the creation of the institutions of a state of law and the transition to a market economy.

Romania's Parliament regard the decision as putting the conditions in place for this country's participation in the work of a prestigious pan-European organisation and for its integration in the democratic structure of Europe, the statement winds up.

Council of Europe Thanked

AU0202183591 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1713 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/2/1991—Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Romanian Senate, and Dan Martian, speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, sent a telegram to Anders Bjorck, president of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg to thank all European parliamentarians and political personalities who upheld Romania's application for special guest status.

We express our gratitude to you, Mr. president, and to Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, for your steady support to the Parliament of Romania.

The decision of the leadership of the Parliamentary Assembly encourages the Parliament of Romania to persevere in its legislative activity firmly committed to reform for transition to a market economy, the assertion and protection of human rights and freedoms, the consolidation of democratic institutions, and of the state of law.

We believe that this first step sanctioned by the Strasbourg decision of 1 February will be followed by the Council of Europe's admission of Romania as a full member of this prestigious European body.

Government Spokesman Comments

AU0102170091 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1530 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/2/1991—Only a day after the Romanian prime minister, Mr. Petre Roman's visit to Strasbourg, we received with satisfaction the decision on the granting of the special invited-guest status to Romania which was adopted by the Standing Bureau of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in its Friday, February 1, session, said Mr. Bogdan Baltazar, spokesman for the Romanian Government.

We consider this decision as an act of justice to Romania, who has committed itself to a vast reform programme for the transition to a market economy, the assertion of democratic assets in society as a whole and the creation of a state of law. We regard the decision as an important support, as an encouragement for the successful continuation of the reform process on all planes, Mr. Baltazar also said.

The press release also expresses the Romanian Government's appreciation for all those who voted for Romania's being granted the special invited-guest status, for the support granted to its demarches by the parliaments and governments of the European states, as well as by executives of the Council of Europe, more particularly, by Mr. Anderas Bjorck, president of the Parliamentary Assembly, and Mrs. Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council.

We regard the Strasboug decision as a step towards Romania's adherence as a member with full rights to the Council of Europe, which plays a major role in human rights, in humanitarian, social and cultural problems, in the promotion of democracy on the continent, the press release issued in Bucharest today shows.

Roman's Address at Meeting Noted

AU0102203991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1918 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 1/2/1991—Romania' s option for democracy and existence in liberty as a dignified nation among the other nations of the European Continent is definitive just as the separation from its totalitarian past is, stated two days ago Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman from the rostrum of the Council of Europe.

In the last half of the year since Romania has a presidency, a Parliament and a government—freely and democratically elected on 20 May last year—several essential changes have been made in society. The energy which seemed to discharge violently in the beginning is now channeled toward competition, while aversion started to take on the forms of free competition. The outbursts of violence sporadic as they were if we consider only the two in Tirgu Mures in March and in Bucharest in June 1990, leaving aside the quantity of violence smaller than in other East European countries account today for an inevitable cost that should be paid to the transitional period from the totalitarian system to democracy.

Living in a close interdependence, the world, more particularly the European continent, cannot function normally just as a human body cannot if one or another organ of its structure is sick. Local disease inevitably bears on the whole body. And nevertheless, no organ can function alone, separately from the whole body. That is why we need one another, the Romanian prime minister pointed out.

Romania comes into the new architecture of Europe with the profound wish to actively commit itself to economic, political and other kind of cooperation, to adhere to the conventions and programmes of the Council of Europe and to consciously and fully assume the obligations it has from such conditions, the prime minister specified adding that Romania is a country with various natural resources and with great possibilities of developing its industry, agriculture, commerce and tourism.

There are in Romania already formed infrastructure and superstructure which last year were not capitalized and were not made to work at capacity, which is now a highly urgent necessity in the restructuring and retechnologization process. That is why the already existing legislation as well as the one under elaboration aims precisely at favoring foreign investment in Romania, the emergence of the market economy and the abolition of state monopoly in production, in foreign trade and in the sphere of hard currency. As for competition, the prime minister specified, the new legislation took inspiration from the regulations of the European Community and of the GATT.

Referring to reform, the prime minister informed the Council of Europe that the bases of ownership had essentially changed, guaranteeing private property both in industry and in agriculture. Despite all reforms and price liberalizations, restructuring cannot be operational if credits are not given to investment for structural adjustment which should be paralleled by direct foreign investment, the prime minister opined underscoring that the minimal level of foreign debt, the accumulation of fixed assets, even if they are morally and physically worn out, are a good starting point, while the existence of highly skilled manpower in technology, the advantageous geographic location and its own natural resources are profitable to both foreign and Romanian investors.

If it is true that Romania cannot exist beyond its European vocation equally true is the fact that Europe cannot exist without Romania.

Concern Voiced on Hungary Selling Arms to Croatia

AU3101174991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1705 GMT 31 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 31/1/1991—We are not indifferent to the news items concerning Hungary's selling of weapons to Croatia, especially when our neighbors are involved, stated the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador Traian Chebeleu answering a question. Of course, he added, we are interested in what each country means by the policy of good neighborhood and its ensurance. The film showed by the Yugoslav television about Hungary's illegal selling of weapons to Croatia caused us a certain concern. At the same time, we learned about the protest of the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs at a short interval after the film had been shown. We take no action because other countries' problems are involved.

National Impact of Gulf, Baltics Examined

AU0302195891 Bucharest LUMEA AZI in Romanian No. 4/24 Jan 91 p 13

[Ilie Serbanescu article: "Romania in the World Game of the Powers"]

[Text] Cliches like "the whole world against a madman" or "the lightning war" are but the visible face—obviously, not the well informed observer—of the conflict in the Gulf. The reality is that we are dealing with a swarm of strategic and conjectural interests of an economic, military, and political nature, which do not belong only to the belligerent sides, but also to many other greater or smaller powers, which are closer to or farther away from that region. For the time being, one does not know how long the war will last and what will be its concrete denouement. The only certain thing is that the region, maybe the world itself, will no longer be the same after the end of this war.

Where does Romania stand in all this? Well, it is a four-hour flight away from the hot region; if Israel's involvement becomes inevitable—this is the long-term key issue of the war—the conflict will come threateningly close to Romania itself. Of course, I am not just referring to the reduction by half of the distance and of the time of flying.

The flames of the war do not have to extend toward the southern or eastern parts of Europe for their repercussions to become most dangerous. Of course, Romania cannot possibly influence the end result of the war; however, it must play its hand so that, should conditions permit it, the close of the war, with its consequences, should not find our country among the losers.

What is Romania's position in the context of current developments and possible consequences of the Gulf conflict? It is obvious that, in the qualification of this position, one cannot merely proceed to a simple enumeration of multiple and diverse aspects which, in their intercorrelation and even confusion, make impossible a classification in accordance with their importance.

First, Romania is strongly and directly affected from an economic viewpoint. Some two-thirds of our oil imports came from the large area of the Gulf; accordingly, a good chunk of the Romanian exports went to the respective zone—let alone the fact that a number of countries in that region, primarily Iraq itself, had sizable debts toward Romania. A direct Israeli involvement in the conflict would amplify these consequences, which would be further complicated by delicate political problems and choices. The addition of an Israeli-Arab dimension to the war in the Gulf would greatly increase the difficulty of maintaining a political balance in Romania's relations with the sides newly engaged in the conflict.

Second, there is the uncertainty regarding the world game played by the great powers. It is obvious that the post-war balance, the division of spheres of influences, the launching and keeping in check of local or regional wars, and the efforts to avoid their degeneration into global conflicts are linked to understandings between the superpowers. There is no doubt that the great powers had a say in Germany's reunification and the major political changes in the Eastern European countries. What one does not yet know what kind of understandings the great powers have reached on future developments. It is out of the question that they should not have established something on how to extend their post-war control over the world; however, it is not certain whether their control ability will be the same as in the past, given the current dissemination of political, military, and economic power internationally. The madman in Baghdad is not so mad after all. He realized quite well that the cards have been reshuffled. He entered into Kuwait under shelter of the domestic problems faced by the Soviet Union and it is not by chance that he propagates the "holy war," as a diversion designed to exalt pan-Arab sentiment, force the hand of other Arab states, halt the emigration of Soviet Jews, and, why not, even bring about a long-term reconsideration of Soviet positions. As for Romania, the conclusions to be drawn are quite obvious. There is no doubt that, in the context of understandings reached between the great powers, Romania has also been allocated a certain place. Its destiny may be, like on other occasions, unfavorable and, like in the past, it may have been decided by others. The problem is that, among other things, the Gulf conflict may just prove to be an obviously painful episode of a new reshuffle of the world cards; hence, Romania should not consider its fate as a fatality, and should strive to contribute to shaping its own future.

Third, and maybe the most important of all implications, is the Soviet uncertainty. The Pandora's box opened by Gorbachev seems to have exploded. Regarding the serious inter-ethnic troubles in the USSR, the West has shown that it does not reckon with the Soviet Union's dismemberment. Now, however, the West's hand has been forced by the fact that forces intent on turning back the clock in the Soviet Union have gone on counterattack, thus provoking interventions that compel the West to take a stand. The outbreak of the Gulf conflict has come at the right time for the Soviet conservatives. To any political analyst, the offensive of the Soviet public order forces in the Baltic countries, which coincides with the start of the Gulf conflict, is no mere accident. One can hear the echo of the threatening forecast made last summer by the former Soviet Foreign Minister E. Shevardnadze, who said that once launched, the conservative military men will not stop at the Baltic countries, but will try to regain what they consider as having been lost in Eastern Europe. Feeling that this is not the time for hesitations, the Poles sent back from their borders the Soviet military forces which, on their way home from Germany, were scheduled to cross the Polish territory. As a matter of fact, in a precipitated move, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia announced their intention to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact and are on the point of establishing a framework for mutual political cooperation. Are these countries in possession of some concrete information about the fate reserved for them by the great powers or have they independently undertaken a desperate action to try to defend themselves, if possible, from future consequences that bring up memories of the painful past? What is Romania doing? Most topical is the question arisen as of last year—namely, whether there is a demarcation between Central and Eastern Europe. Judging by Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev's distinct position, however, it would seem that this demarcation exists, hence Bulgaria—which, together with Romania, would belong to "Eastern Europe"—is striving to defeat the fatality of such a delimitation established by others. Until now, Romania has chosen to wait. Only the minister of foreign affairs disapproved of the intervention of the "forces of order" in Lithuania and Latvia. The other factors—the president, the prime minister—wait on the sideline. Of course, Romania is in the most precarious situation. Its policy cannot be separated from its geography. Relations of good neighborliness with the great neighbor from the north and east are essential for the economic, political, and other spheres; however, a repeat of the history of 40-50 years ago would be a tragedy. Even if others reserved it for us, Romania must needs try, as much as possible, to avoid such a repetition.

Iliescu Queried on Domestic, Foreign Policies

PM0102121691 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 31 Jan 91 p 19

[Interview with President Ion Iliescu by Andrea Tarquini; place and date not given; first paragraph is LA REPUBBLICA introduction]

[Text] Bucharest—This year, 1991, will be a very difficult one for Romania. The recovery of an economy destroyed by Ceausescu will bring social tensions and conflicts of a new kind." This was said by Ion Iliescu in an interview granted to LA REPUBBLICA on the occasion of his visit to Italy, which starts today. It is his first trip to an EEC country. "We are pleased to be starting in Rome," he said, "because of our historical links with your country, and because of the understanding that Italy, France, and Spain have shown us." Here is the interview:

[Tarquini] Mr. President, will you not be presenting a negative picture to your interlocutors?

[Iliescu] It is the result of what we inherited from Ceausescu and of the way the break with the totalitarian system happened in our country. Economic activity paralyzed by state centralism, a climate of suspicion and mistrust, a crisis of morale even worse than the economic disaster.... Against this background, the reconstruction of political life has been marked by violent clashes and extremist tendencies. It is a miracle that we have not yet lapsed into anarchy, the most complete chaos.

[Tarquini] How do you justify the miners' brutal attack on demonstrators and on the offices and newspapers of the opposition in June?

[Iliescu] The June events cannot be judged separately from the country's overall situation. There was an atmosphere of violence; the opposition marchers were attacking ministries and police stations. Their behavior was reminiscent of the fascists' activities before the war.

[Tarquini] The opposition accuses you of starting the violence. Be that as it may, where else in Europe do miners take the place of the police?

[Iliescu] The opposition does not explain why the government that won the elections should weaken itself through street violence. The opposition says the government went too far and forgets that we were not in a normal situation, as in your country or France. The police were demoralized by a sense of guilt for having been on the tyrant's side in December 1989.

[Tarquini] So could there be a repetition of such events?

[Iliescu] It depends on how our system evolves.

[Tarquini] Precisely. Will it evolve toward complete democracy or will it be a disguised form of communism?

[Iliescu] I think you are going too far in assessing a year's social and political developments in Romania solely on the basis of those events. There was a criminal dictatorship here just over a year ago: Now we have a Parliament and a free press; we are introducing reforms of the economy and the judicial system.... So our orientation is definitely toward building a law-governed state, in accordance with the principle of the separation of powers. The legacy of the past, however, is a burdensome one here, and the transition will be much more difficult than in Warsaw or Prague. Democratic life is just starting, both in the development of the institutions and in the organization of the political forces.

[Tarquini] Do you fear a political vacuum or violent solutions?

[Iliescu] Of course the stability of our society and institutions is still relative. A political vacuum and even violent solutions remain a real danger. I trust in the Romanian people's tolerant attitude.

[Tarquini] The opposition also accuses you of not having completely purged the state administration, the Army, and the police....

[Iliescu] This criticism is correct to some extent; however, we face two opposite risks—of leaving unpunished too many people guilty of crimes under Ceausescu; or of yielding to demagoguery, to a climate of factional accusations that we inherited from Stalinist thinking and from which we have not yet entirely freed ourselves. It is not right to condemn, solely on the basis of suspicion, capable and well-trained officials that every state administration needs. The opposition criticizes me for the past, but no one can consider himself immune from criticism for his actual or supposed past.

[Tarquini] Little or nothing has changed in the economy. Is this not conservatism?

[Iliescu] No. We have drawn up a plan for the transition to the market economy that has been approved by the IMF; however, it will be much more difficult here to extricate ourselves from the Stalinist economic system. The level of centralization of the economy was extreme, and the abnormal development of many industrial sectors has destroyed the nation's wealth. There is another peculiarity to our situation: Elsewhere—consider Poland or the former GDR—it was less difficult to ask people for sacrifices for the sake of change. Here in our country, the people have already been tried to the limit by Ceausescu. So we must try to particularly carefully limit the social cost of the transition to the market economy, which will nevertheless be high.

[Tarquini] Do you not risk becoming prisoners of populism; of your own promises to certain sectors of society, such as the miners, whose political support is vital?

[Iliescu] Yes, this danger exists in all the former bloc countries. It is very difficult to try to create an efficient economic system, while at the same time observing principles of social equality. The social changes themselves will lead to social conflicts of a new kind. We have no choice: The transformation of the economy must be carried out quickly. I am sure that the opposition—which has, up to this point, accused us of doing nothing about the economic system—will soon be attacking us from the left.

[Tarquini] Mr. President, you are the only former Communist among the heads of state of the USSR's former satellite counties. You are accused of wanting to eliminate the power system of the Ceausescu clan, but not the actual system. Do you still believe in Communism?

[Iliescu] I have been, and remain, loyal to the principles of democracy, progress, and social justice that inspired our young people after the war, with the end of fascism in its various forms. A lifetime's experience has taught me that those ideals, when translated into practice, were a failure and that the valid left-wing experiments are those of the social democratic systems. All the so-called 'socialist countries'—not just Romania—established totalitarian systems, with a paralyzing domination of the economy by politics.

[Tarquini] When did you stop believing that the system could be reformed?

[Iliescu] Look, my generation has experienced so many traumas, its ideals have so often suddenly shattered, faced with actual conditions. The first trauma was Khrushchev's report to the 20th Congress, the revelation of Stalin's crimes. The second—a positive trauma, a hope—was the "Prague Spring." Then came the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia—a reactionary act, like the czarist interventions against the 1848 revolutions. That, perhaps, was the failure of the last opportunity to reform so-called socialism; after that came 20 wasted years.... Then in 1971 Ceausescu returned entranced from a visit to China and North Korea and imported the Maoist "cultural revolution" into Romania.... So I made a public break with him.

[Tarquini] Was that what led to the birth of the reform group that was sidelined by the regime and that is now in power with the National Salvation Front?

[Iliescu] It was not an organized group. Of course, there were others who thought the same way as me; furthermore, four to five years ago we realized that Romania would not follow the same kind of evolution as the other states of the camp and that a violent explosion was becoming inevitable. We started talking about it five to six months before the revolution, but we did not organize a political structure. It was impossible; to keep in contact we had to resort to such tricks as exchanging books....

[Tarquini] Are you afraid that in the USSR, following the Baltic countries, there will now be a power struggle in Moldova, whose population includes Romanian speakers?

[Iliescu] I really hope not. Fortunately, the leaders of the Moldovan Republic are displaying great moderation. If there is a recurrence of the scenario that occurred in Vilnius it would be difficult for us to restrain the extremists of all kinds. Despite the sincerity with which Gorbachev began the democratization, anything is possible in the USSR—an authoritarian regression, even the sudden appearance of the military on the political scene.

Markovic Presidency Session News Conference

LD0102184691 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Feb (TANJUG)—There was nothing so dramatic at yesterday's session that warrants a special explanation, Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic noted at today's conference for domestic and foreign journalists.

Stressing that the interpretation of sessions of the state Presidency is a matter for the Presidency itself and its president, Markovic recalled, nonetheless, that processes are under way in the country that are paving the way to democracy, freedom of opinion, and competition of views. Why should there be a lesser degree of parliamentarianism in Yugoslav institutions compared to some other states, replied Markovic with a question, also mentioning "turbulent" situations that he personally witnessed in some legislatures.

Replying to questions linked to the role of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], the prime minister specified that this role is quite clearly defined and that it does not envisage any political function for the army. Regardless of whether there are any such requests, the Army will not and cannot have a political role, Markovic stressed. He warned, however, should there be any events that could lead to a civil war and the arming of illegal groups, the Army will have to take action, but only on the orders of its supreme commander, i.e. the state Presidency.

The prime minister also added, regarding the above question, that no comparisons should be drawn between Yugoslavia and some other countries, not even the USSR. A certain degree of emancipation has been present in Yugoslavia since 1948.

Apart from this, between Yugoslavia and other countries that are switching from the socialist system over to the market one and where the single-party monopoly is being replaced by pluralism, there is a fundamental difference: Yugoslavia has decided to take the option of reforming its economic system and [then] going as far as making changes to its political system. It was the other way round in the other countries, he recalled.

Replying to a question regarding the possible consequences that the report of the political administration of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense on the situation in the country and the world could have for the further relations between Yugoslavia and the IMF and the United States, Markovic expressed doubt in this. The report was compiled by an institution that does not represent the country on the international scene, so it cannot be expected that on the basis of it individual countries in the world will change their stance toward Yugoslavia, the FEC president contended.

The report, if its validity is established, is a matter for the internal services whose job it is to resolve this, he explained.

I consider it normal that all political options in the country should be present, and thus also the League of Communists [LC] - Movement for Yugoslavia, Markovic stressed. Membership of a party is a matter of the personal orientation of each individual and thus also of people in the Army and this should be separated from the political orientation of an institution, he added, recalling that the FEC opted a long time ago for the depoliticization of the federal administration. Markovic also intimated that a draft law will soon be adopted in the FEC on the depoliticization of the JNA, but he also recalled the decision of the JNA to abolish the League of Communists of Yugoslavia organization within it.

Rounding out his reply to the question of future cooperation between Yugoslavia, the IMF, and the United States, in the light of the report by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, Markovic stressed that relations between the two countries are very good and that in its official stances the United States supports Yugoslavia as an integral state, as well as the policy of the Federal Government. He illustrated the good cooperation with the IMF [by pointing to] his talks today with the mission of this organization.

Replying to a question, Markovic stressed that the fact that various political options had triumphed in the elections in the country does not mean obstacles are placed in the way of life together. The victories of individual options are restricted in terms of time, while peoples and states live much longer, he pointed out.

Advocating a law-governed state, the prime minister ruled out government interference in the work of the courts. Let the courts implement correctly and fully the investigative procedure both regarding current armaments as well as with regard to other cases in question, Markovic said.

Markovic told journalists that there was a chance of reaching an agreement on the remaining four—out of the total of 12—conditions set out as the minimum that should facilitate the normal functioning of the basic levers of society, the continuation of reforms, and the right kind of climate for democratic and tolerant talks about the country's future. In this context, Markovic maintained, the content of future relations is more important than their name.

The FEC will prepare the final document on the minimum state functions that are to be adopted by all the republican assemblies and the SFRY Assembly. The proposed minimum of 11 functions was expanded, at the proposal of most of the republics put forward in the course of recent talks with the federal prime minister, to 12 because the financing of the undeveloped [regions] has also been included. In the coming days there will be an expert debate about the undeveloped with all the competent departments in the republics and provinces. Following this the FEC will meet representatives of the republican and provincial governments.

There will also be a debate on the issues that have remained in dispute in the wake of the prime minister's tour around the republics in the course of which agreement was reached on eight out of the 11 originally proposed functions. The issues surrounding the budget, the way it is financed, the recovery of the banking system, and social programs are yet to be clarified.

The FEC maintains that in addition to the minimum of functions, the amendments to the SFRY Constitution should also be taken into account as well as the unhindered functioning of the top federal services, and that the flow of information throughout Yugoslavia should be insured. Next week a talk about removing problems of information will be held in the FEC Secretariat for Information, Markovic noted. He stressed that the public should be acquainted with all options and views in the talks on the country's future.

Having recalled that in January inflation was 5.6 percent (5.9 percent was planned) and that the erosion of foreign currency reserves, which are rising again, has been halted, the president of the FEC said that last year, calculated in accordance with a method that includes the export and import of goods, services, and finishing operations, a surplus of $506,000,000 was achieved.

All the incursions into the fiscal, monetary, and payments sphere must be recovered in financial terms, and in this everyone, except for some honorable exceptions, has, as he put it, "egg on their face." The biggest incursion into the monetary system was carried out by Serbia, but some of this has already been recovered. All the rest will also be recovered, the prime minister explained replying to a journalist's question. In this connection, Markovic stressed that until financial recovery is carried out, none of the banks involved in the incursions will, according to last night's decision of the Board of Governors of the Yugoslav National Bank, have access to the money market either.

The obligation to carry out financial reorganization is also valid for all others who have made incursions. In this context the FEC president mentioned Croatia, adding that the problems in other republics are somewhat less and that Bosnia-Hercegovina, Macedonia, and in part Montenegro have been disciplined. During his talks in all the republics, in his words, readiness was expressed to organize the financial recovery of the situation.

Obligations toward the federal budget must also be met by the end of the first quarter, any payments have already been increased. Each day between 300 million and 500 million dinars arrive, which is not sufficient, but it is significantly more favorable than before. For the meeting of other obligations of the Federation, after the clearance of outstanding debts to and debts of the republics and provinces, the issuing of short-term bonds with a value of up to 10 billion dinars is proposed.

In reply to a question about the results of last week's session of the SFRY Presidency and about the role of both the Presidency and the Government concerning the establishment of dialogue on resolving relations between Croatia and the JNA, Markovic first referred back to his recent interview for TANJUG. He then gave a concise reply by noting that an important step forward has been made toward democratic talks about a third of Yugoslavia, which will be in the interest of everyone and in which everyone will have trust.

A dialogue was conducted at the FEC's proposal and its denouement provided positive answers to several questions, Markovic contended. He recalled that it was emphasized on that occasion as well that the Army does not intend in any way to jeopardize the Croatian leadership and neither does the leadership intend to carry out a separatist coup on the JNA.

One of the journalists interrupted the conference by saying that many did not understand his [Markovic's] optimism, to which the prime minister replied that for those who observe things from the side it is a matter of optimism or pessimism, but for us it is a matter of life. He also added that our nations have demonstrated throughout the history their ability to eliminate problems in accordance with democratic solutions.

Daily Urges Hungary To Keep CSCE Principles

*LD0102141291 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1058 GMT 1 Feb 91*

[Text] Belgrade, February 1 (TANJUG)—The Belgrade daily BORBA on Friday notes that the involvement of Hungarian state organs in illegally getting across arms to Yugoslavia calls for a thorough Yugoslav-Hungarian dialogue, which is to clear up not only the affair, but also to re-define the foundations of bilateral relations.

The Yugoslav Army eight days ago screened a secretly shot film from which it may be inferred that Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj illegally imported from Hungary several thousand Kalashnikov guns and ammunition for the para-militay formations.

BORBA, which is believed close to the Yugoslav Government, sets out that the Hungarian Government must clearly state whether the affair with the arms meant a new policy towards Yugoslavia, in place of the hitherto prolaimed good-neighbor policy.

Setting out that the illegal arms transport was instrumental to destroying Yugoslavia and causing instability in the region, BORBA asks whether "certain Hungarian aspirations, cut short by the outcome of the First and the Second World Wars, were re-emerging."

Parts of Yugoslavia have at a time been within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Also parts of Yugoslavia have been under Hungarian occupation during World War Two.

If Hungary wanted to develop a reputation of an active participant in the CSCE processes and that of a democratic country and if it was very much engaged in a series of regional and European cooperation forms, then it must also adhere to the basic CSCE principles—cooperation and democratic relations, BORBA stresses. This means primarily "respect for neighbors, their sovereign rights, their stability, and even their difficulties", BORBA adds.

Government Says Strike Policy Will Not Change

*LD0302182191 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1616 GMT 3 Feb 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 3 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government has no intention of abandoning its restrictive credit and monetry policies, as the Federal Government Information Service reported today.

The Federal Government statement followed the announcement that the textile and metal workers in the Republic of Serbia would hold their strike on February 5 outside the Federal Government building and not the building of the Serbian Government, as originally planned.

The workers of Yugoslavia's largest republic call, among other things, for changes in the credit and monetary policies, oppose the implementation of the law on the limitation of personal incomes, and want the prices of the basic victuals to be frozen temporarily.

The Federal Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic sets out in its message to the workers that the restrictive credit and monetary policies must be further pursued, because the issue of money solves nothing. It does say, however, that the credit and monetary policies need to be coupled with new solutions in the fiscal, distribution, and tax policies.

The Federal Government specifies in the statement that workers, by demanding higher pays, while retaining the existing property structures, executive personnel, production programmes and number of employees, are in fact aiming "to definitively undermine" the economic reform, although they swear by it.

The government warns that, instead of provisionally freezing the prices of the basic victuals, "it is necessary to create conditions for the subsidizing of products, and, through a higher supply of imported goods, to compel producers to lower prices."

The Markovic government sets out the need for a comprehensive programme of aid to the "technologically and economically" redundant workers.

The government urges the workers in Yugoslavia to call for "a stepped up transformation of the social into the private and collective" and for drastic cuts in general and joint spending.

Public spending in Yugoslavia last year accounted for 40 percent of the social product, which is not the case even in many developed European countries. The Federal Government has announced that it will draw up a programme of limiting public spending and will reduce its staff by between 30 and 50 percent.

Officials Hold Economic Talks in Switzerland

*LD0302001891 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2146 GMT 2 Feb 91*

[Text] Davos, February 2 (TANJUG)—The future of Yugoslavia and its present political and economic problem were the focus of talks here on Saturday between member of the Yugoslav State Presidency Janez Drnovsek and Swiss officials—president of the Swiss Confederation Flavio Cotti, Minister of Public Economy Jean-Pascal Delamuraz, and government member Claus Jacobi.

Drnovsek and president of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman are attending the annual assembly of the world economic forum, which brought about 1,400 outstanding world economists and politicians to the Swiss winter centre of Davos.

Drnovsek told the hosts about the differences between individual Yugoslav republics and disputes between the republics and the Federation. The Swiss officials pointed out that Switzerland would accept all forms of Yugoslav accord and that it could be counted on to support Yugoslavia in the inevitable period of transition, in seeking credits from the European Reconstruction and Development Bank. Prospects of cooperation in the domain of banking were also remaining open.

One of the topics of Drnovsek's talks was a fund for Yugoslavia's industrial development set up by EFTA in 1990. In the present circumstances the fund officials, although showing understanding for Yugoslav difficulties, are cautiously awaiting the outcome of internal disputes currently underway in Yugoslavia.

At the forum session Drnovsek presented the position of Yugoslavia and the necessity of its joining the European economic organizations.

Statistics Office Reports Trade Balance Figures

*LD0102114691 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0942 GMT 1 Feb 91*

[Text] Belgrade, February 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia's exports in 1990 were valued at 14.308 billion dollars, a 7.1 percent increase as compared to 1989, and imports at 18.871 billion dollars, 27.5 percent more than in 1989. Instead of having a 4.526 billion dollar deficit, Yugoslavia last year recorded a 506 million dollar surplus in trade, if it applies a method used by the European Community and developed countries which includes the export of services as trade.

If this method is applied to Yugoslavia's last year's exports and imports, then they would be worth 21.52 billion dollars and 21.282 billion dollars, respectively. If loans and similar additional export deals are added, Yugoslavia's exports in 1990 were greater by 506 million dollars than its imports.

The federal statistical office began applying the method used in the E.C. and developed countries to monitor its trade exchange since the beginning of 1991, at the recommendation of the United Nations.

New Political Organization Succeeds SAWPY

AU0102094791 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jan 91 p 7

[M. Lucic report: "The Assembling of the Left"]

[Text] At the very moment the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Yugoslavia [SAWPY] ceased to exist, a new political organization, the Alliance of Socialist Parties of Yugoslavia [SSPY], appeared as its legal successor. It was founded through the amalgamation of three out of the eight former republican and provincial socialist alliances, the socialist alliances of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Macedonia. Mirko Pejanovic, president of Democratic Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina was chosen to be the leader of the Federal Coordinating Committee.

"We are optimistic and believe that other republican parties that emerged from the Socialist Alliance will join us, and we will especially engage ourselves in this matter in the coming month," Pejanovic explains. "It is a wish of this alliance to link itself with democratic political parties in Yugoslavia that follow socialist and social democratic principles. Finally, we are willing to take part in the building up of a bloc of the left that will link all those political forces in the country that are in favor of the parliamentary system, law-governed state, social justice, a unified Yugoslavia, and its economic and political prosperity within European integration.

Pejanovic specifies five key issues that will be given priority in this political organization: endeavor for a peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis with a historic agreement on Yugoslavia's future, the stabilization of political upheavals to help the economic prosperity of the country, and the creation of new prerequisites to carry out the economic reform. In addition, there is also the idea of the SSPY joining the Socialist International, and cooperation with other ideologically similar parties during the preparations for federal elections.

In the next few days the SSPY will announce its precise stands on peaceful and democratic solution to the Yugoslav crisis. The SSPY and the professional associations of lawyers, political scientists, and sociologists are also preparing the round table talks of Yugoslav intellectuals entitled "Mutual Interests of Peoples and Their Republics in the Yugoslav Community and European Integration."

Considering the political situation where "national democracy" is becoming more and more prominent, the question is what kind of "impact" and its aspirations to form the so-called left bloc can have.

Pejanovic says that the process of disintegration in Yugoslavia has been going on for a decade and has been accompanied by the strengthening the divisions on national grounds. This alliance will aim to promote cooperation and integration within Yugoslavia on matters that are crucial for our mutual future. These are democratic transformation, economic prosperity, and integration into Europe.

Tudjman Comments on Federal Attitudes

LD0302223991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1838 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—At a news conference this evening, Croatian President Dr. Franjo Tudjman described his three-day visit to the international economic forum in Davos as very successful. Dr. Tudjman said: I had meetings with about 30 prominent representatives of various states, governments, ministers, and businessmen, who gave their wholehearted support to the democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and Croatia's endeavors to achieve rapid economic development.

Asked to comment on SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic's telegram of 2 February, President Tudjman stated that Dr. Jovic managed to further diminish Yugoslavia's reputation and to cause confusion and anxiety in international state and business circles. That was an unwise act, the Croatian president said. He added that he explained to his colleagues in Switzerland that this does not mean an immediate beginning of a civil war.

I am not anxious, because I know that nobody can impose his own will on us. We are supported by the people and the democratic public in Europe and the world, Dr. Tudjman said.

Asked to comment on Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's statement that all Serbs have to live within one country, the Croatian president replied that he knows nothing about the statement. When a journalist noticed that this is tantamount to Dr. Jovic's stance, the Croatian president said that the policy advocated by Slobodan Milosevic, Dr. Borisav Jovic and a part of the army leadership is the same.

I have already had talks with Milosevic about this, Dr. Tudjman explained. I told him that the Croatian people could make the same such demand. History has already shown that the Serbian nation does not have the strength to impose its solutions by force on the Croatian nation or on any other nation. Hence, the only way out of the crisis is talks.

Speaking about his visits to Switzerland and Austria, Dr. Tudjman said that Croatia is present in international life. If Mr. Jovic or anyone else fails to take this into account, President Tudjman added, then he is greatly deceiving himself.

Never in history has there been such an impudent campaign against the Croatian nation as today, President Tudjman said. We have not fallen into the trap that they have set us so that they can justify military intervention and bloodshed.

Concerning the resumption of talks on the future of Yugoslavia, he said that as a precondition, the question of the role of the Army in political life must be resolved. I believe that Croatia and Slovenia are not prepared for a resumption of the talks unless this issue is cleared.

Dr. Tudjman did not explain in detail his proposal, set out in Davos as well, that there be a debate about the future of Yugoslavia at an international conference, already dubbed "little Helsinki". These are well-known ideas, but circumstances are such that we will need international arbitration to find a way out of the crisis, Dr. Tudjman said at the end of his half-hour talks with journalists.

Tudjman Does Not Rule Out Military Coup

AU0302202091 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 30 Jan 91 p 6

[Gerfried Sperl report: "Tudjman: Danger of Coup Not Over"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—Even after the latest settlement with Serbia, the danger of a military coup is not over, Croatian President Franjo Tudjman said on the eve [28 January] of his talks with top Austrian politicians in Vienna. He knows that the present defense minister and the army leadership respect democracy. Attempts at coups are always from the middle ranks. There might be a new crisis before the summer, he said. [passage omitted]

Apparently, the Croatian leadership is concerned about the restoration in the USSR. More conciliatory officers are also forced into the background in Yugoslavia because of the strengthening of the Red Army, he said. Moreover, attempts to win army support for communism are repeatedly made. Democracy is discredited as an "import from the CIA." In fact, the Communist Party remained in power after the elections in Serbia and Montenegro. The fact that the Orthodox Church dissociated itself from democracy also sets one thinking, he said.

Tudjman, who understands and speaks German well, says that the EC is a "model for a future Yugoslav structure." When questioned in more detail, it turns out that a "Scandinavianization" is rather meant. Therefore, five or six completely autonomous states seem to more likely.

The Croats indicate that "from Vienna to Paris" the people "still have reservations about the development" in Yugoslavia. Doubts have already been dispelled in Washington and London, he said. Interruption by an attendant: "What does not grow together can also not fall apart." [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, the Croatian president met President Waldheim and Foreign Minister Mock.

Tudjman Receives Receives Message From Jovic

LD0202174191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1513 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, 2 Feb, (TANJUG)—The Information Department of the SFRY Presidency is authorized to acquaint the public with the telegram SFRY Presidency President Dr. Borisav Jovic sent on 1 February to Republic of Croatia President Dr. Franjo Tudjman. The telegram says:

The Federal Secretariat for national Defense has informed the SFRY Presidency that the following measures have been undertaken in the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA], in keeping with the obligations established in the decree of 9 January, and the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency session of 25 January 1991:

1. The combat readiness of JNA units has been reduced to their regular peace-time level.

2. An investigation has been launched in the Zagreb military court, accompanied by detentions, against two civilians and two active military personnel for the criminal act of armed insurrection as per Article 124, Paragraph one, in connection with Article 138 of the SFRY Penal Law.

The results of the investigation, we have been informed, show that it must also be extended to other persons throughout the area of the Republic of Croatia. In this contest, a request has been made that the investigation also be extended to Croatian National Defense Minister Martin Spegelj.

3. Military-Judicial services, acting in accordance with the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency, are attempting to achieve the necessary cooperation with the competent services of the Republic of Croatia. Among other things, requests have been made to bring one civilian from Virovitica for informal talks, place Martin Spegelj before an investigating judge of the Zagreb military court, and to check documentation concerning the import of arms to the Astra enterprise in Zagreb. The internal affairs services of the Republic of Croatia, according to a report by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, have hitherto not done any of these things and they state openly that they will not detain Martin Spegelj because, they stress, they cannot act without heeding the stances of the government of the Republic of Croatia.

The information available to the SFRY Presidency, on the other hand, indicates that in the Republic of Croatia, things are not being done in accordance with the conclusions of the SFRY Presidency and the agreement of 25 January this year:

A. Although the top Croatian republican services have committed themselves publicly to cooperation with military authorities, some republican officials—through public information media—deny military judicial services their legal authority to conduct any criminal proceedings against civilians on the territory of Croatia. This is also being done by the top judicial services of the Croatian Republic, including the republican public prosecutor who, in a document for the Military Prosecutor's Office in Zagreb, describes criminal proceedings against the two civilians as an attack on the sovereignty of Croatia, and issues an ultimatum that they be immediately handed over to civil legislative services. At the same time, by way of widespread propaganda, efforts are made to prove that these are in fact fabricated accusations allegedly prepared by the JNA.

B. The demobilization of the reserve police force has not been carried out in full. More than half the demobilized members of the reserve police force took arms home with them, while the arms that had been returned were not placed in storage and are instead kept in police headquarters and stations.

Illegally formed armed units and individual HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community] members have not been disarmed. The obvious proof of this is the case of state security service units refusing to bring in Ivan Belani from the Virovitica municipality for an interview. This event is interpreted by some sections of the public as confirmation of the involvement of some internal affairs' services in the arming and activity of HDZ illegal armed units.

C. Certain events lead to a conclusion that efforts are being made to jeopardize the investigation by preventing witnesses from appearing before investigating organs.

D. The activities and movements of JNA units and officers on Croatian territory are still being monitored. There are even open threats to liquidate army officers by taking hostages those who would serve to exchange for detained civilians, or to resort to terrorist activities.

E. There are increasingly frequent phenomena of aggresive behavior by HDZ members against people who do not share their views, especially against members of the Serbian nation (Slavonija, Banija, Virovitica, and other regions). Intranational relations in this area have exacerbated to a point where there is an immediate risk of intranational conflicts.

Mr. President, proceeding from these facts, I find it necessary to point out the vital need for the consistant implementation of the joint agreement and the stands of the SFRY Presidency of 25 January 1991.

I also wish to point out that the prosecution services and other authorities in the JNA are required to abide by their constitutional and legal responsibilities and therefore they will do their utmost to ensure that the orders and decisions of the SFRY Presidency are implemented. I am convinced that it is in the general interest to avoid the consequences that can arise if the agreed duties are not carried out and if the SFRY Presidency stands are not adhered to.

I extend my greetings,

[Signed] President of the SFRY Presidency

Dr. Borisav Jovic

Mesic Assails 'Campaign Against Croatia'

LD0302122191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0831 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—The president of the Presidency cannot make decisions on his own. The decisions are made by the Presidency. This is what SFRY Presidency Vice President Stjepan Mesic told Croatian radio journalists yesterday evening. The recording of the statement was carried by Croatian Radio this morning.

Asked to comment on the telegram of the president of the SFRY Presidency to the president of the Croatian republic, Stjepan Mesic replied:

"It turns out that Borisav Jovic has certain information that he uses in this letter and that I do not have. As we know, all members of the Presidency are equal and all receive the same information. Given that I never received the information on the basis of which Borisav Jovic draws some conclusions, there are at least two things to say. Either all of the members of the Presidency are not equal, or some members receive information from the Presidency and some do not, or else Borisav Jovic has some other sources of information, on the basis of which he wrote this letter."

In his statement Stjepan Mesic drew attention to what he described as a "campaign against Croatia in which no holds are barred." In his assessment the arrest of General Spegelj is aimed at undermining Croatian power and gaining political points in doing so. "Attempts are being made to expose and repudiate the democratically elected power in Croatia," said Mesic.

He described the policy toward Croatia as Machiavellian, aimed at creating Greater Serbia. On the one hand people are permitted to bear arms, loot police stations, form paramilitary organizations, and threaten "campaigns against Croatia," while on the other the Croatian authorities are denied the arming of their own police. "Arms were bought legally, for legal services. There are no reasons for anyone to be detained," said Stjepan Mesic. He concluded his statement for Croatian radio by saying that "the reasons lie far deeper than the disarming of this or that little group."

Mesic Addresses Zagreb Rally 26 Jan

AU0202162591 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 27 Jan 91 p 5

[Speech by Vice President Stipe Mesic to a rally in Zagreb on 26 January: "Croatia Will Not Allow Conditions To Be Set for It"]

[Text] Citizens of the city of Zagreb, the capital city of Croatia and all Croats on this earth, I am addressing you on behalf of the Government of Croatia; I am addressing you after the talks that we have had with the leadership of Serbia and the Presidency of Yugoslavia. I am addressing you because everything that we do, we have to do publicly, before the eyes of this people and before the eyes of the whole world.

Many people remember when the so-called rebellion began in Knin; many people remember when arms began to be stolen from the police stations in many communes. They remember that I said at that time: If need be, the whole of Croatia will be on its feet in an hour. Today is the day when we can demonstrate this to everyone, to all those who think that they can use threats and force to impose on this people solutions that do not suit them. Such a force does not exist.

Croatia Cannot Fall to Its Knees

In the last few days we have been put into a situation whereby we have had to make decisions. We are conducting talks with all republics on future cohabitation, but at the same time some forces have been trying—together with those who used to be in the Army and with some people who are now in the Army—to frighten Croatia and to talk with Croatia on the basis of their force. We were in a dilemma whether to continue negotiations, to continue reaching agreements, to try, like all civilized people and all civilized countries, to resolve in a democratic way the conflicts that have arisen, and to try to resolve this political, social, and economic crisis in which we have found ourselves. We decided to go to Belgrade, but I should say now that we did not go to Belgrade to confirm that Croatian policy is being conducted in Belgrade. We went to Belgrade actually to confirm that Croatian policy is being conducted only in Croatia and only in the Croatian Assembly. We went to affirm our stands, we went to present arguments, but also to say to everyone: Croatia no longer is or will be what it was. We are openly saying to all those who think that Croatia can be brought to its knees: No, gentlemen, no one will ever again be able to bring into question Croatian sovereignty, its independence, and its identity.

The threats were great. Sabers were rattled and attempts were made, which were unprecedented in Europe, to resolve the political problems of both Croatia and Yugoslavia. We are not afraid of any threats whatsoever. We went to Belgrade to present the firm stand that no one can have the illusion that Croatian space and Croatian territory can be discussed. There is no discussion about this. The newly-established democratic authorities in Croatia must function on the whole of its territory.

If you have read today's announcement, the Presidency of Yugoslavia has stood on the side of precisely these stands: Croatia must function, its legal system must function, and we must warn those who think that they can destroy Croatia by behaving like outlaws and bandits, that they cannot have support either in the country or the world. Agreements are possible and a process of negotiation is possible for the democratic denouement of our crisis, but not to the detriment of Croatia's interests.

We convinced both the military leadership and the Presidency that the Croatian people do not represent a danger for anyone. Croatia has never taken anyone else's territory and it will not allow anyone else to take one millimeter of its own territory. I must tell you that we told everyone our firm stand on the fact that we want to live with the others and that we want to live on an equal footing, but we also said: If someone cannot live with us, they do not have to be against us, let them be alongside us.

To pillory Croatia, various scenarios were concocted and various fabrications were set up to besmirch the leadership of Croatia, Croatian democratic parties, and all democratic institutions in Croatia. No tricks and fabrications can halt this democratic trend in Croatia.

When we see these flags, for which many of you here now and many of you at home have spent months and years in prison, we are happy that the symbols of the Croatian people and the Croatian republic have seen the light of day, but we also see here green flags, so let me also welcome representatives of the Party of Democratic Action who are here with us today and share our destiny with us.

We Need Peace

I must say to you that we succeeded in our intentions, we succeeded in presenting our stands, we succeeded in putting arguments on the table, and we succeeded in persuading the Army leaderships that the Army is not to settle political conflicts. It was therefore agreed that today, at 1200, all activities of the Army will end and that all soldiers will return to barracks. We agreed that Croatia would function as a law-governed state on the whole of its territory and there can be no compromise in this respect. We also agreed that, if threats to endanger this people, this government, and this state stopped, there would be no reason for the republic's constabulary to be on a state of alert.

We do not need war. We need peace—a peace in which we will be together with all European peoples. We do not need mined roads, we do not need disturbances on the roads, we do not need shooting in the dark at honest and peaceful citizens. We have said: We were in jeopardy because attacks were actually aimed at this government and at our sovereignty and therefore we had to, Croatia had to, purchase arms for its constabulary. If there were to be no threats, however, then there is no reason for all weapons not to be in the police stations where they belong. This is because we decided to build this country but not to shed blood on it as well. This magnificent meeting also shows that no one has the illusion that anything can be done that could bring into question our sovereignty and our decisiveness to defend this sovereignty. At a time when Europe is integrating on the basis of interests and not on the basis of brotherhood and unity; at a time when Europe is making even greater strides both in its economic system and in its political integration, we are being reproached and asked why we are disintegrating. We only want to do what Europe is doing: We must first of all establish our own identity to be able to integrate with Europe.

We are offering peaceful cohabitation to everyone, and the Serbs in Croatia in particular do not have any reason to be in fear of the Croatian people. As you have seen, the Croats did not take arms from police stations, and this is not necessary. All the citizens of this republic will be defended by their constabulary, which will defend the peaceful life of all its citizens: Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Albanians, Hungarians, and Italians. We must also say that the sons of all our peoples and the sons of the Croatian people do their army service in the Yugoslav Army and we do not have any reason for the Croatian constabulary to use weapons against these children and these young people. We have therefore said: We do not want any kind of conflict. We have sought that it be understood that we are not against those people who wear a uniform. We are against this uniform being used to settle political conflicts in our country. We have to say to the generals, and they must understand this: Who can wage a war when all the soldiers leave this army? Certainly not the generals.

The Road to Democracy

We have reached the point where we can safely and peacefully continue further on our road of the development of democracy, as well as development of this country's economy. We have to put people into the position not only so that they are able to live but are able to have a better quality of life, but this is possible only in political peace. With this decision we achieved political peace, but we showed the whole world that we will not agree with anyone who wants to forcibly impose any solutions that are not in the interest of this people, that are not in the interest of Croatia, and we will stop them.

I can therefore now give you the firmest promise that the time of peace has arrived, the time to work has arrived, the time for democracy has arrived, and the time has arrived when no one will ever again set conditions for Croatia. We will set conditions ourselves in the way that suits us. Precisely because we must only believe ourselves, we had to tell everyone else to lose their illusions that the problem that has arisen in this country after 70 years of existence, both in the first and second Yugoslavia, can be resolved in such a way that the Croats and Croatia are the scapegoats. You know that the old Yugoslavia arose because some people had the illusion that a state can be created in which there can be a majority and everyone else would be happy. There is certainly no peace or happiness in such a state, but if these creations arose at the will of great forces, Croatian sovereignty arose at the will only of this people, the citizens of Croatia and the Croats throughout the world.

I am therefore calling on you to return to our normal human tasks, but also to always be cautious, to be ready for all those who could yet again possibly impose solutions on us through force. I would therefore end my speech with the words: Long live an eternal Croatia and our most beloved Croatia.

Army Taking 'Steps To Detain' Spegelj

LD0102170791 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1543 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Zagreb, 1 Feb (TANJUG)— Croatian Interior Ministry services have not handed Martin Spegelj [Croatian Defense Minister] over to the investigating judge of the Zagreb Military Court within the 24-hour deadline.

The prosecution services of the Yugoslav People's Army are now taking steps to detain him, says today's statement of the investigating judge of the Zagreb Military Court.

Manolic Stresses Need for Croatian Unity

LD0102152191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1138 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Excerpts] Zagreb, February 1 (TANJUG)—Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic has stated that this Yugoslav republic would not allow police to interrogate, "least of all arrest", Croatian Defense Minister Martin Spegelj. [passage omitted]

Manolic said it would be wrong to expect the resignations of Spegelj and Croatian Interior Minister Josip Boljkovac, or any other changes in the Croatian government, because what Croatia now needs is unity so it could "defend its statehood and sovereignty." [passage omitted]

Croatia, Slovenia To Slash Army Contributions

AU0102160991 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Text] Representatives of the Croatian and Slovene authorities have reached an agreement by which the current contributions for financing the Yugoslav People's Army could be reduced by half. This was stated by Croatian Prime Minister Josip Manolic at a meeting with representatives of the three main trade unions in Croatia.

Prime Minister Manolic stressed that this would be the stand that representatives of the two republics will adhere to in all future federal negotiations.

This reduction would apply to the first year, Manolic said without elaborating on his statement.

Zelenovic Addresses Goals, Serbia's Future

AU0102094491 Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 18 Jan 91 p 10

[Report on interview with Serbian Prime Minister-elect Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic by Miroslav Vujovic in front of the Assembly Building on 15 January: "It Is High Time For a Successful Economy"]

[Text] Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic was born on 19 May 1928 in Sirig near Novi Sad. He graduated from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering in Belgrade in 1957; obtained his master's degree in 1972; and his doctorate in 1975 at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering in Novi Sad. He was elected a corresponding member of the Vojvodina Academy of Sciences and Arts in 1987.

He also worked in the Jugoalat tool factory in Novi Sad and in the Institute for Tool Machines and Tools in Novi Sad. He was also the rector of the Novi Sad University. He organized the Institute for Industrial Systems. He is a creator of the idea of a high quality university and a well known initiator of spacious buildings and laboratories of the University in Novi Sad. He published several scientific research works.

Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic is a member of the working group for the development of information-management systems of the International Federation for Information Processing - INFIP, W.G.5.7; the editorial board of the International Journal of Production Research, London; the editorial board of the magazine MATERIAL FLOW, Amsterdam; president of the editorial board of the magazine PROIZVODNJA, Belgrade; editor in chief of the magazine PRODUKTIVNOST U INDUSTRIJI, Kragujevac-Novi Sad; and a member of the Program Committee of the Publishing House Naucna Knjiga, Belgrade.

He speaks English and also reads German and Russian.

Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic was awarded the Order of Labour with a Silver Wreath, Order of Services to the People with Silver Rays, Order of Labor with a Red Flag, the October Award of Novi Sad, and the Liberation Award of Vojvodina. He declares himself as a Serb.

Academician Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, is a candidate for the president of the government of the Republic of Serbia and the mandator for the new government of Serbia.

Dr. Dragutin Zelenovic did not give his first interview as prime minister-elect in the assembly hall or in the cabinet. It was almost accidental that we met in front of the Assembly building on Tuesday evening [15 January]. Our meeting started with me saying: "Mr. president, may I congratulate you on your election," and continued with a stroll, during which he was not accompanied by his bodyguards, and a cordial discussion.

[Vujovic] What did not you say in your first speech to the peoples deputies of the Republic of Serbia because of the limited time that you wanted to say?

[Zelenovic] In the last three years we made considerable progress in Serbia, as well as in Yugoslavia as a whole, because we managed to introduce a multiparty assembly without violence. I am sure that the multiparty assembly in Serbia will work smoothly and for the well-being of its nation.

[Vujovic] What about the new government?

[Zelenovic] I will personally try to assemble a team in which specialists are capable of performing their tasks themselves. Because I believe that in addition to knowledge success requires persistence, I will be persistent in checking the work of each member of the government.

[Vujovic] What will you strive for as the president of the government?

[Zelenovic] The government and the deputies of the national assembly have three basic goals in their future work: the quality of peoples' life, the development of working systems, and the fulfillment of social needs. The success of the government and the assembly will be measured very simply—by how successfully we utilize our resources to create benefits for everybody.

I believe it is not necessary to particularly stress on this occasion the degree of expertise the citizens of Serbia have. It is well known that it is above the Yugoslav average. And regarding the energy resources of our republic, several European countries could envy us. Our trump cards lie in agriculture, forestry, and other branches of the economy and it is up to us to use these trump cards to our best advantage.

How successfully we transform our potentials to improve the quality of our life and satisfy all social needs will depend on the skill and knowledge of the people in the republic.

Therefore, in the new government of Serbia there will only be places for people with knowledge, people who do not lack courage, efficiency, and responsibility. People like that do exist. Although I do not have extensive experience in such matters, I am sure we will come up with a team that will not betray the nation's expectations. Anyway, it is the time for results.

[Vujovic] What will the government's attitude toward Yugoslavia be?

[Zelenovic] I think Serbia must strive for the preservation of the federative Yugoslavia, of course modernly organized, and within which the Serbian people, as well as other peoples and nationalities who live in this country, will have their future.

[Vujovic] What if Yugoslavia disintegrates?

[Zelenovic] In case this happens, and this is indeed being insisted upon in some parts of the country, I believe that Serbia must fight to enable the Serbian people to live in one state. No one should be allowed to suppress other peoples or transform peoples into national minorities.

But, let's hope, and I personally believe this, that the disintegration of Yugoslavia will not happen.

Croatian Serbs Protest Croatia's Policies

LD0202234191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Beli Manastir, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—"If Yugoslavia disintegrates, Baranja cannot stay within Croatia. Neither has it ever been in the Croatian State. Baranja is Serbian." These are highlights from speeches of all those who addressed a protest meeting held in Beli Manistir today, organized by the Serbs from Baranja and neighboring areas.

The protest meeting was organized by the local committee of the Serbian Democratic Party, the municipal committee of the Socialist Party of Croatia-Yugoslav Orientation [Socijalisticka Partija Hrvatske-Jugoslovenske Orijentacije] and the Beli Manastir branch of the Serbian Renaissance Movement. The protest meeting was organized to condemn the ruling policy in Croatia, particularly in connection with the armament of illegal formations and an armed rebellion, and to support Yugoslavia.

In spite of a previous announcement by the police headquarters banning the meeting on the grounds of a possible violation of the public peace and order, nobody tried to thwart the meeting. It was attended by approximately 2,000 people, predominantly Serbs from Baranja and some neighbouring areas. Several Yugoslav and Serbian flags were flown. The meeting was opened with the Yugoslav national anthem and Mars na Drinu [the March to the Drina River—Serbian World War I song] [passage omitted]

Serbian Parties Protest Events

AU0202161591 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Radovan Pantovic and Jelena Hinic report]

[Text] The Alliance of All Serbs of the World and about 15 other opposition parties organized a protest meeting in Belgrade against the latest political events and the oppression of the Serbs in Croatia. The meeting was also attended by members of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS], the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia, representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Serbian Academy of Sciences, independent associations, and about 5,000 citizens. Radovan Pantovic and Jelena Hinic report:

[Pantovic] The meeting was characterized by a general support to and encouragement of all imperiled Serbs all over Yugoslavia. Opening the meeting, Slobodan Mitic, president of the Alliance of All Serbs of the World, appealed to all political entities and citizens to establish national unity as the most urgent task of the Serbian people.

The majority of the speakers recognized the Croatian people's right to self-determination, but stressed that the Serbian people have the right to live in one state on the basis of the same principle. Bozidar Djuretic [name as heard] spoke about the tragic experience and historic exaltation of the Serbian people who allowed others to use them. This time is over, Bozidar Kosutic [name as heard] said, describing the meeting as a meeting of freedom, justice, peace, and equality.

Yugoslavia is at the crossroads, stated SPS General Secretary Petar Skundric, and therefore its fate will have to be decided on by the Yugoslav peoples and not the republics because they did not exist in 1918 or 1943. Yugoslavia exists, Skundric stressed. We created it and therefore we strive for it. The answer to all attacks is that the Serbian people will live in one state, Skundric said:

[Begin Skundric recording] The SFRY Presidency does not have the right to allow further dragging of the crisis in Yugoslavia. [cheers] Its decisions must be respected, as well as the constitutional and legal measures that are being undertaken by the Yugoslav People's Army to create the conditions needed to preserve peace and ensure a peaceful denouement of the crisis. [end recording]

[Hinic] In realizing our national identity, Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party of Bosnia-Hercegovina, said at the beginning of his speech, we knew what we had to do with the enemy, but have always been perplexed (?when we had to face our) brothers. We have always been susceptible to tricks in brotherhood. The Serbian people want to live in one state and will share it with all those who favor democracy and freedom. Serbs know the meaning of a state. Those who do not know what it is are playing with the idea of a state and breaking up Yugoslavia.

[Begin Karadzic recording] Tudjman thought that after the multiparty elections in Bosnia-Hercegovina, he would pluck Bosnia-Hercegovina like a ripe pear. It was in fact in Sarajevo that he recently experienced his first political defeat as a statesman in Sarajevo. During the interrepublican talks, Bosnia-Hercegovina showed that it had greatest differences with Croatia. [cheers] [end recording]

[Hinic] Supplementing previous speakers, as he said, writer Brana Crncevic, concluded that Serbs, whether they like it or not, must live in the same state. Others should do as they please. Observing that the majority of Western countries are not currently positively inclined to Serbia, Crncevic said that one should not have illusions that there is love among the peoples, but that this love (?must be won). Translated to our circumstances, he said, this means that we will be respected if we withstand all tests and win our status, and forgotten if get defeated.

Croatian Serbs Say Croats Still Acquiring Arms

AU0202192291 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jan 91 p 8

[M. C. report: "Croatia Continues To Arm Groups and Individuals"]

[Text] Knin, 29 Jan—Yesterday's meeting between presidents of the assemblies of the communes in the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina and presidents of the Serbian Democratic Party was followed by a statement for the public that failed to specify where the meeting took place. The most important element of the statement is the tone whereby the present political leadership of Croatia is openly called Ustasha.

The communique states that "under the auspices of the federal government, headed by Prime Minister Ante Markovic, the Ustasha authorities" freely supplied paramilitary formations in Croatia with arms, and in this way physically endangered the existence of the Serbian people. The SFRY Presidency's order was skillfully used by the Ustasha authorities to shift the essence of the conflict to a conflict between the Yugoslav People's Army and the Republic of Croatia. The political leadership of Krajina holds the view that disarmament is not taking place in Croatia and that groups and individuals from the Croatian Democratic Community continue to arm themselves.

The communique stresses the responsibility of the SFRY Presidency in case of an interethnic clash and bloodshed.

"A clash between the Ustasha authorities and the Serbian people in Croatia is a consequence of the nationality majoritarianism that was used to set up the national state of Croats. We will defend our constitutional right to self- determination. The Serbian people did not accept and will not accept this kind of state where they live"—this was stressed in the communique of the political leadership of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina issued for the public.

Serbs Hold Rallies in Various Regions

LD0202235791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2100 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 2 (TANJUG)—A number of rallies in support for Serbs were held today in the parts of Yugoslavia predominantly populated by Serbs. Serbs are the most numerous nation in Yugoslavia, which has a population of 24 million. The speakers who addressed the rally in Belgrade, capital of the Federal State and of the Republic of Serbia, said that it was the first duty of the Serbs at this time to establish the national unity of the Serbian people, wherever they might live.

In a Yugoslavia tottering under the burden of a deep political and economic crisis, talks are underway to reach a 'historic agreement' on a new system in the country, talks in which the options of secessation, confederation or federation in the multi-national and multi-religious country are being discussed.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic said that the only option acceptable to the Serbian people is one which shall allow them to live in one state, a 'modern federation'.

Rallies organized by the All Serbs of the World party were held also in a town in eastern Hercegovina (in the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina) and, despite a police ban, in several towns in the Republic of Croatia. It is believed that it is precisely in Croatia, Yugoslavia's second biggest republic, which has a community of 700,000 Serbs, that the position of Serbs is the most delicate.

At a rally in Knin, town in the northern Dalmatian region predominantly populated by Serbs, a speaker said that, 'if federative Yugoslavia collapses, a greater Serbia shall be created which shall rally the entire Serbian people in the Balkans'.

Protest Meeting To Take Place in Knin 2 Feb

LD0102192891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 1 Feb 91

[Announcement by David Rastovic, vice chairman of the Serbian National Council and president of the Donji Lapac Municipal Assembly on 1 February; place not given]

[Text] Knin, 1 Feb (TANJUG)— "We are calling on the people of the Serbian autonomous district of Krajina to attend a protest meeting outside the Knin railway station at 1400 GMT tomorrow, organized by the Serbian parties, against the threat to the survival of the Serbian nation in its ethnic and historical region."

[Serbian Democratic Party Chairman] Jovan Raskovic and [Knin Municipality leader] Milan Babic are expected to speak at tomorrow's meeting, as well as the presidents of the Krajina municipalities.

Kosovo Opposition Views Arms Surrender Order

AU0102093191 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 91 p 5

[Ibrahim Osmani report: "Some People Are Being Armed, Some Disarmed"]

[Text] Pristina—The main topic of the Friday meeting between the representatives of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo and journalists was the SFRY Presidency's order on the surrender of arms, which, as was pointed out, placed an additional burden on the already complex situation in Kosovo.

The request of the military authorities and some recently published articles suggest with their tone that ethnic Albanians are again the only possible culprit. The Serbian police have been applying this method of violence—with the excuse that they are searching for weapons—in Kosovo for almost eight months, and, as pointed out in a letter that the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo sent to the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council [FEC], this method led to the death of several Albanians in their homes, without any reason.

Arming and Disarming

"For us," the letter stresses, "it is incomprehensible that the SFRY Presidency and the military authorities should say that they did not know about the illegal import and possession of arms and that they should now be carrying out a military action to collect these arms. We also consider it unacceptable that the arms are only being collected from one nationality," the Democratic Alliance stressed. They went on to say that Albanians are even being deprived of the weapons for which they have licenses, while Serbs and Montenegrins are legally being supplied with arms and all their request for arms are being approved.

The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo warns the SFRY Presidency and the FEC about the danger of undertaking actions in Kosovo similar to those of 1956, something that would, under the present circumstances, lead to unforeseeable consequences. The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo demands from the Army and the highest state services to clarify all circumstances under which Albanian soldiers "have been committing suicide" for years. Commenting on the presence of Riza Sapundziju and Hisen Kajodmcaj in the talks on the agreement on the future setup of the country, Budzovi, among others, stressed that they are in fact not legal members because they were not elected at free elections, but that their right to be where they are and protect the existing Constitution is undeniable.

Why Are Albanian Soldiers Getting Killed

Zekerijah Cana, vice president of the Pristina Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms, briefed the journalists on his recent visit to Albania and his talks with Albanian officials and the representatives of the democratic opposition. He said that his visit to Albania should be seen as part of his struggle for the protection of human rights. Cana showed journalists a list of all Albanian soldiers who lost their lives in the Yugoslavia People's Army in the last 10 years. He also said that an official and well-argued explanation of these deaths is rarely provided, and that out of the 52 death cases in the period 1981-1991, documentation exists for only three. Therefore, he said, Albanians are very anxious. Cana proposed that a special commission be set up to investigate all circumstances under which soldiers die in the JNA regardless of their nationality. He pointed out that ethnic Albanian parents are anxiously sending their children to the Army, and that, if the Army did not guarantee their safety, these people will seriously think whether to allow their sons to go to the Army or not.

Denying some media reports, Cana confirmed that the burials of soldiers in Kosovo are not without provocations, and mentioned the latest case when, during the burial of Izet Bushi, a helicopter flew over the funeral procession.

Serbian Party Wants New Croatian Leaders

LD0302235591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1936 GMT 3 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Pakrac, 3 Feb (TANJUG)—The future of Yugoslavia cannot be decided by republics but by peoples. The Serbian nation wishes to live in one state and will oppose anyone who might divide it. There will be no talks whatsoever with the authorities in Croatia as long as the national rights of Serbs are under threat in this republic, it was said at the electoral assembly of the regional committee of the Serbian Democratic Party [Srpska Demokratska Stranka] for Slavonija and Baranja.

Relations between Serbs and Croats in Croatia today are the worst they have been since the war. The blame for this is borne by the new authorites in Croatia, who do not react to the democratic messages of the Serbs, it was said at the assembly. We cannot conduct a dialogue with those who hate us. This is why we demand the replacement of the leadership of Croatia and the most extreme members of the Croatian Democratic Community, it was concluded at the assembly. [passage omitted]

Serbian Movement Protests Croatia Arms Sales

LD0202235591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1729 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Feb (TANJUG)—In connection with reports of the involvement of Hungarian authorities in arming Croatia, the Serbian Renaissance Movement [SPO] has sent letters to the Hungarian government and legislature requesting a special commission to be set up to establish the facts, after which drastic sanctions would be imposed against all those who had taken part in this dishonest affair. [passage omitted]

Weekly on Timing of U.S. Ambassador's Remarks

AU3101200091 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 28 January 91 p 11

[Unattributed report: "Has Zimmerman Stopped the Generals?"]

[Text] Have the Americans at the last moment saved Croatia and Slovenia from military intervention of the "Baltic model"? This question was asked by Bonn DIE WELT in the very title of a report written by the paper's expert on Yugoslavia, Karl Gustav Stroehm. This was on Thursday, and on Friday, Zagreb VJESNIK carried a report on the DIE WELT article written by its Bonn correspondent Nenad Ivankovic.

This is how Ivankovic interprets his German colleague:

"'Many things indicate that Croatia and Slovenia also had a foreign guardian angel these days. During the critical hours, U. S. Ambassador in Belgrade Warren Zimmerman visited President Jovic and told him clearly that the United States is not going to accept the Army crushing democratic institutions. That Zimmerman's clear words had a sobering effect for some time," is the conclusion of Karl Gustav Stroehm, DIE WELT's long-time expert on Yugoslavia, who has recently contributed a great deal to informing the German public on the threatening Serbian-Army plot against Croatia and Slovenia.

Further on in the text, he says that it was above all "American warnings" that stopped great Serbian generals. What was involved, Stroehm writes, were some unusual activities on the part of the Yugoslav Army during the hours preceding the deadline of the "ultimatum."

As VREME learned, Ambassador Zimmerman certainly did not speak about the "threatening Serbian plot against Croatia and Slovenia." His warning applied to possible consequences that any use of force in solving political problems in Yugoslavia, and therefore, in that context, use of force or threats with force by the Army can have. According to the American assessment, that may lead to a further disintegration of Yugoslavia, rather than to the preservation of its unity.

The moment when the ambassador conveyed this message to our leadership was more significant that the contents of what he conveyed, because that had already been presented in one or another form at various American official sides. This was accompanied by the hint that, if dialogue is not established and a political solution for Kosovo is not found, the U.S. Administration will "have difficulties" in preventing the Nickles-Bentley amendment from coming into force. The amendment envisages a halt to U.S. Government aid to those parts of Yugoslavia in which human rights are not respected.

A few days ago, the influential Senator Dole went even further. The Nickles-Bentley amendment does envisage aid to our Federal Government along with control over its use. Dole proposes that Washington should direct the aid to individual republican governments, avoiding the Federal Government. One can add here the statement by Senator DeConcini who said that every Yugoslav republic, and not only the Federal Government, should individually recognize the obligations ensuing form the CSCE in the sphere of human rights; the self-determination of the peoples, the respect of territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders, and refraining from the use of force, as well as the fact that America should consider each of the republican governments responsible for meeting or failing to meet these obligations.

The efforts our republican leaderships have been making with a view to destroying the authority of the Federal Government and to taking over its prerogatives, have clearly received a very clear international response.

Slovene, Croat Economic Relations 'Delicate'

AU0202173691 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 2 Feb 91

[Relja Atanasijevic report]

[Text] Economic and other relations between Croatia and Slovenia have significantly been damaged, and this has lead to a certain anti-Slovene mood in Croatia. This was stated today by the two vice presidents of the Slovene government. Relja Atanasijevic has the details:

[Atanasijevic] Dr. Joze Menciger, vice president of the Slovene government, stated that economic relations between Slovenia and Croatia are presently more delicate than those between Slovenia and Serbia. According to the available information, Slovene firms' debts in Croatia are substantially greater than those of Croatian firms. We are talking about large amounts of money. Payments are being stopped and orders canceled.

Information that has arrived here in Ljubljana indicates that there is a certain anti-Slovene mood in Croatia. Several reasons are mentioned for that. In the sphere of politics, the statement made by Milan Kucan, after the talks in Serbia, according to which the Serbs have the right to live in one state, was understood in Croatia as if Slovenia had betrayed its neighbor when it was the most vulnerable.

There are other older conflicts. One of them is the bankruptcy of Elan [a Slovene ski making firm]. Creditors in Croatia hold the view that the Elan case is a repeat of Agrokomerc. Then, there is the case of the Trend firm [a Slovene car rental and leasing firm] that deceived and robbed thousands of innocent car buyers from Croatia. The business operations of the Zagreb branch of the Bank of Ljubljana should also be mentioned. At one time people were not able to withdraw their foreign currency savings or their dinar equivalent.

Dr. Leo Seserko, vice president of the Slovene government, said the question of the Krsko nuclear plant has also contributed to the tensions in Slovene-Croatian relations. Because the two republics are the co-owners of the nuclear plant, which should be closed down, the question has been raised as to who should repay the $1 billion loan raised for its construction. Seserko said that each republic should pay 50 percent. This is why he was in favor of the equalization of Croatian-Slovene debts.

Slovene Weekly To Cease Publication 17 Jan

AU0102145191 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 31 Jan 91 p 20

[Unattributed report: "DEMOKRACIJA No Longer Published"]

[Excerpt] Ljubljana, 22 Jan —It has been announced by the Magellan publishing house that the Thursday, 17

January issue, the second of the year, of the weekly DEMOKRACIJA will be the last. After a series of talks with Dr. France Bucar that lasted several months, the editorial board and the founder were forced to make this decision because the paper was in financial difficulties.

The representative of the weekly's founders informed the chief editor that the founders are no longer interested in continuing to publish the paper. Apart from this statement the founders gave no other explanation.

The weekly DEMOKRACIJA was founded two years ago as a publication that would voice alternative opinions in the single-party political system of that time. Its founders were: Dr. France Bucar, Janez Jansa, Ivan Oman, Tomaz Pisanski, Dr. Hubert Pozarnik, Dr. Dimitrij Rupel, Laura Straus, Veno Taufer, Ivo Urbancic, and Peter Volasko.

Bosnian-Montenegrin Talks Viewed

AU0202201191 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 91 p 3

[Unattributed report: "No One Should Be Subordinate"]

[Excerpts] As part of the agreed program of bilateral meetings between republics, a delegation from the Socialist Republic of Montenegro, led by Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic, met in Sarajevo yesterday with a delegation from Bosnia-Hercegovina, headed by Bosnia-Hercegovinan President Alija Izetbegovic. [passage omitted]

An Achievement of Civilization

In open and unconventional talks, it was stressed by both sides that in expressing the principle of legality, these meetings between republican delegations, as well as those at the Yugoslav level, are useful and necessary because the renewal of mutual trust is the psychological prerequisite that could contribute to the settlement of the essential issues of the political future and constitutional structure of Yugoslavia. Both sides assessed that open questions can only be resolved democratically, because all our peoples and nationalities have accepted democracy and multiparty pluralism as an achievement of civilization. Both delegations showed their satisfaction at the widespread willingness to conduct a tolerant and argued dialogue that could contribute to resolving the Yugoslav crisis. It was stressed that it is crucial to seek democratic solutions that should not put any people or any republic in an unequal and subordinate position.

The delegation of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina also expressed on this occasion the conviction that Yugoslavia can exist as a state community of equal peoples and republics with international legal status and with Bosnia-Hercegovina as a sovereign republic on an equal footing with all other republics. In a future Yugoslav community, this delegation thought that it is necessary to preserve the inviolability and immutability of external and internal borders and respect the legitimacy of interests, equality, and the territorial integrity of all republics. It stressed that only the further development of democracy can be a guarantee for the joint search for all acceptable solutions for future relations and the constitutional order with national and other human rights and freedoms, a market economy, and a market with all the elements that presuppose a single market in the future Yugoslav community.

Unified Toward the World

Stressing its sovereignty, which is based on the sovereignty of its peoples and citizens, Bosnia-Hercegovina proceeds from the necessity to agree in future talks on those joint functions in a future state community that will be in the interest of all the republics, peoples, and nationalities that live in present-day Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Transferring Services of the Federation

Bosnia-Hercegovina advocates a unified army at the Yugoslav level particularly because it should be depoliticized, rationalized, and have a cadre structure that will be nationally balanced. Likewise, it is the stand of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina that the republics should have territorial defense. In the opinion of the delegation from the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in line with the experiences of the modern and efficient states of Europe, a future state community should have the corresponding constituent, legislative, and executive power to the extent and in functions that will be agreed upon, and material and other obligations in the future setup will be based on the policy of clean slates. [passage omitted]

Agreeing almost totally with the stands of the delegation from Bosnia-Hercegovina, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro stressed in particular its orientation to preserve Yugoslavia as a unified federal state of equal peoples. It respects the right to self-determination of each individual Yugoslav people and the legitimate right of every people to make independent decisions about their own destiny.

The delegation of Montenegro stressed that only on the basis of the equal exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination can a federal Yugoslav state be set up as a community of the Yugoslav peoples that want to live together, on a totally equal footing and with mutual respect.

The holders of the highest state posts in Montenegro think that the existing administrative borders between the republics in Yugoslavia cannot be accepted as state borders because—as the delegation stressed—they have never been the frameworks in which the individual peoples in Yugoslavia have lived. It was said that Montenegro advocates that the internal borders should not be changed and a solution to this is seen in the model of a modern democratic federation. This delegation expressed the willingness to remain amenable in its advocacy of a federation to all proposals that will determine its essential common functions, as well as the level at which they are performed.

Concern on Both Sides

The delegation from Montenegro thought that the Yugoslav People's Army has its own responsibilities specified by the Constitution and federal laws and that it should carry out these responsibilities in line with the decisions of the SFRY Presidency.

There was also discussion about the latest situation in the Republic of Croatia regarding the application of the SFRY Presidency order on the disarmament of illegal and paramilitary units. Both delegations shared the profound concern of citizens about the dramatic situation and tension that has been created because of this. The delegations of the two republics therefore appealed to everyone so the problem should be resolved in a peaceful and democratic way in line with the valid regulations.

Both delegations agreed that in the future too, after the upcoming session of the SFRY Presidency is held, talks should continue among the republics and at the federal level, for consensus to be reached on the future organization of Yugoslavia on new foundations; economic recovery to be speeded up; a new cycle of development to be embarked upon, and political stability and the democratic progress of the country to be secured. This was stated in the announcement issued after the talks.

Molotov Cocktail Thrown at Macedonian Building

AU0102125691 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 29 Jan 91 p 7

[M. K. report]

[Text] Skopje, 28 Jan—As reported by the Information Service of the Central Committee of the Macedonian League of Communists-Party of Democratic Progress [LCM-PDP] unidentified persons yesterday threw a "Molotov cocktail" at the building of the Central Committee of the LCM-PDP, but luckily the flammable liquid did not explode.

This insane action was described in Skopje as a "terrorist attack."

It is suspected that the attack was carried out by supporters of VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity], who had gathered on Marshal Tito's Square yesterday evening. They were expressing their discontent because their leader, Ljupco Georgievski, was not elected vice-president of the Macedonian state.

This information was also confirmed by the City Secretariat of Internal Affairs.

An investigation is under way.